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RECENT WASHINGTON DISPATCHES declare that "Secretary of State Stimson has decided to make a special study of Russian affairs, and because of the importance of the subject will probably place the direction of this study in the hands of an Assistant Secretary of State." Just why the State Department should suddenly become so seriously concerned with the Russian problem appears at first glance somewhat mystifying. The Secretary's action does not, of course, mean that the United States is about to recognize the Soviet regime. That, in the opinion of most American officials, could not be done without a marked loss of prestige, and it is certain that the present Administration has neither the intention nor the graciousness to swallow its pride to this extent. It is more likely that we shall find Mr. Stimson's decision to have been inspired by a growing conviction that the Russian Five-Year Plan is succeeding and that Russia must be reckoned with in world affairs. In other words, the Communist experiment is no longer being pointed to as a fantastic dream; it is at last being taken with that seriousness which is its due, and here and there individuals and governments are finally beginning to consider ways and means of dealing with successful communism as a challenge to capitalist economy. We do not know where Mr. Stimson's study will lead him, but if it results in the adoption of a more intelligent attitude toward Russia and serves to turn American criticism upon the weaknesses in our own system as well, it may go down in history as a major achievement of the Hoover Administration.

THE FEELING that the capitalist world must reconsider its own economic position is not confined to the United States alone. Through the past several months this question has been increasingly agitated in the conservative press of Canada and Europe. Unfortunately, however, the agitation has thus far produced little of tangible value, if we agree that the renewed belligerency being displayed toward Moscow is not conducive to an improvement in international economic relations. Canada, for example, has barred virtually all Russian goods that compete with Canadian products. Numerous British financiers, industrialists, and politicians, including Lord Brentford and Winston Churchill, want England to follow suit. France and other European countries had previously laid down embargoes or adopted tariff regulations designed to hamper Russian trade. On the other hand, the directors of the International Bank at Basel have concluded that they must explore the problem of how the banking interests of the world may best meet the new Russian competition, and they are apparently about to do this in conjunction with a discussion of the world-wide economic depression. A fair examination of both problems should go far toward revealing the impracticability of attempting to shut Russia out of the world economic picture. In Germany there appears to be a positive desire not only to improve trade relations with Russia, but also to strengthen capitalist economy so as to enable it to meet Communist competition. The German debate has not been directed by the Marxians or other enemies of capitalism, but by the heavy industrialists and by such conservative organs as the *Deutsche Bergwerks Zeitung*. Their speeches and editorials make clear their belief that capitalism, as well as communism, is on trial.

SECRET DIPLOMACY by itself is bad enough, but it becomes a good deal worse when it is harnessed to publicity stunts, resounding political declamations, and speculation and dust-throwing in the daily press. The Franco-Italian naval agreement is the latest instance in point. After some days spent in hurrying from London to Paris for an interview with M. Briand arranged by telephone, conversing at high speed at the French Foreign Office, catching the next train for Rome to converse some more with Signor Grandi and Premier Mussolini, and hastening back to Paris to make sure that France would accept what Italy had agreed to, Mr. Henderson, British Foreign Secretary, announced that the controversy between Italy and France had been patched up and that those Powers would shortly adhere to the London naval treaty. Nothing of the terms of the agreement, however, was divulged, and the newspaper correspondents were left to create hypothetical terms out of hints, speculation, and the mistakes of the past. Now, it appears, the agreement is not so perfect as the world was given to understand; not so perfect, at least, as to keep Great Britain from fearing that its own naval position has been jeopardized

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and that France has conceded less than was supposed. Mr. Stimson will be right in withholding further comment upon the agreement until he learns exactly what the United States is expected to approve, and in insisting that the terms of the London treaty be strictly adhered to.

WHEN THE NATIONAL SOCIALISTS and the Nationalists walked out of the German Reichstag, relief was expressed by the government leaders. It was felt that with these obstructionists absenting themselves the government parties could go ahead with their financial and social-reform program unhampered by a dangerously large opposition. The National Socialists announced that they would "go to the country" in their own fashion with their program, call thousands of mass-meetings, and thus arouse the people against the present government; but so far nothing seems to have come of this plan. Now, however, the strategy of the fascist walkout is becoming apparent. Berlin cablegrams report that whereas the heterogeneous groups making up the Brüning coalition had heretofore been kept together by a common fear of "the demagogic Nationalist opposition," with the removal of this opposition the natural antagonisms existing among the government factions are coming to the surface. The Landbund, representing the Junkers of eastern Germany, is said to be drifting toward open warfare with Brüning. The Social Democrats are reported "becoming ever more restive under the yoke of supporting the government." The trade unions, backbone of Socialist strength for many years, are showing increasing dissatisfaction with Brüning's rule and with Socialist support of his government. In the recent Brunswick elections the Socialist vote decreased by 20,000 compared with the national elections in September, a goodly part of these voters going over to the Communists. Hence one result of the withdrawal appears to have been an increase in dissension among the enemies of fascism—a result that can profit only the fascists themselves.

CHAIRMAN JOHN J. RASKOB of the Democratic National Committee has at the same time revealed the weakness of the Democratic party and the strength of its present management. The meeting of the committee conducted by him in Washington the other day was probably arranged with this purpose in mind. By precipitating a row over prohibition eighteen months in advance of the national convention Mr. Raskob has most likely averted an even worse controversy, which, had it been postponed until then, might have split the convention and the party. Instead, he has brought out into the open the seriousness of this cleavage between the two major wings of the Democratic organization, and it is reasonable to suppose that those leaders of the party on both sides of the prohibition fence who are anxious to press to the utmost the unusual chances of success that they will have in 1932 will use the intervening months to work out some sort of compromise acceptable to wets and drys alike before the convention meets. Whether or not they can do this appears to depend upon the willingness of the South and West to accept two more years of Mr. Raskob's rule along with the prohibition compromise. Should he and his wet friends of the East be forced out of the party management before or during the convention, it would almost compel the Democrats to take a positively dry stand. Such action could, of course, have but one result: loss of the East and of the chances of a national Democratic victory.

IT IS HARD to be patient with the President's veto of the Wagner employment-exchange bill. The measure would not help, but rather would do harm in the present crisis, we are told. (We are glad at least to have an admission that there is a crisis.) As it is not emergency legislation, the matter demands more consideration; therefore we will do nothing now. Of course it is not emergency legislation; the bill is a carefully wrought measure, approved by most expert students, designed to embody the first steps in a permanent policy specially adapted to American conditions. Why has not the Administration come forward with a real plan of its own, if the Wagner scheme is bad? It has had years in which to do it. Does Mr. Hoover expect us to "consider" forever? Anything to prevent action, seems to be his motto. As for Secretary Doak, his action is beneath contempt. For years as labor lobbyist he supported the Wagner bills. Elevated to the Cabinet, he becomes absolute yes-man to the President, and after vainly trying to wreck the present measure by introducing an eleventh-hour substitute measure, signs his name to the President's argument against this bill he long supported. The American people, millions of them out of a job, ought to note the kind of leadership President Hoover gives them in this crisis, and to scrutinize sharply his use of facts. Senator Wagner, Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins, who last spring convicted the Administration of misuse of unemployment figures, Mary Van Kleeck, Paul U. Kellogg, and John B. Andrews all call attention to shocking inaccuracies of fact and inference in the veto message.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB'S DEFENSE of the Bethlehem Steel Company's bonus system, recently attacked in a court action, raises interesting questions about the relation of work and pay in present-day America. Twenty Bethlehem executives get fixed salaries ranging from $6,000 to $12,000 a year; one receives $3,000. Most of their pay comes in bonuses. E. G. Grace, the president, gets a salary of $12,000, and his bonuses over a period of seventeen years have averaged $814,993. Seven other men have had bonuses ranging from $108,000 to $230,000 on the average and twelve have received from $14,000 to $76,000. Mr. Schwab stoutly defends this system of payment by results, as he calls it, pointing out that the administrative, selling, and general expense of Bethlehem has averaged only 3.24 per cent of gross earnings over a six-year period, while the figure for United States Steel is 3.84 per cent and for Youngstown 4.06 per cent. Mr. Schwab is doubtless right in asserting that "the right man may well be worth $1,000,000 a year and more" to a big company; but only a perverted psychology would assert that it was inherently necessary to pay him any such sum in order to get the best out of him. It may be necessary in a society where money is the only proof of success, but business is in great need of moving forward to the stage attained by some of the professions, where success is measured not solely or even chiefly by financial return, but by eminence in the performance of function. A reduction in the money rewards of business success, indeed, might result in a higher social esteem for the business man, even if in fewer million-dollar bonuses.

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TRANSFER TO THE STATES of what is left of the federal public domain, except such lands as may be reserved for national defense, reclamation purposes, reservoir sites, national forests, parks, monuments, and refuges for migratory birds, is recommended by Mr. Hoover's commission on the conservation and administration of the public domain. The area of unreserved and unappropriated public land covered by the recommendation aggregated on June 30, 1930, 178,979,446 acres scattered over seventeen States. The transfers are to be made only where the State legislatures vote to accept them, but when so accepted the lands will be subject to sale, lease, or other disposition, provided only that sales shall be made at public auction and that subsurface minerals shall be reserved. This latter reservation is made in order to fit in with the commission's proposal of a general policy for the conservation of mineral resources in which the federal and State governments are to cooperate. The commission believes that the States are "conscious of the value" of conservation. Perhaps they are, but in any contest between a State and private or corporate interests over the control of oil or other deposits the State is pretty certain to lose. The transfer plan is just as bad today as it was when Mr. Hoover and Secretary Wilbur championed it in the summer of 1929. It means that the landed wealth will probably be dissipated and conservation left with nothing to conserve.

THE TEACHERS UNION of New York is celebrating its fifteenth anniversary. Organized in March, 1916, it was one of the locals of the American Federation of Teachers established two months later and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The association of groups of teachers with the organized labor movement has been the occasion of much criticism; it is a fairly safe guess that opposition to the Teachers Union of New York has rested far more largely on its consistently progressive educational and social program. Courageously opposing the unlamented Lusk bills during the hysterical period just after the war, the union has likewise opposed attempts to introduce military training into the school system, has persistently fought against political control of the public schools, and has attacked discrimination against teachers on the ground of race or of political or economic views. It has been of service in forwarding programs of experimental education, and has sought to maintain the highest professional standards in teaching. The dislike of school administrators for trade unionism among teachers is understandable enough, but we believe that the close association of teachers with labor groups is a wholesome thing, and there is no question of the value of independent criticism of the educational machine from within the system itself. The record of the Teachers Union during its fifteen stormy years is an honorable one, and gives hope of its enlarged usefulness during the next fifteen years.

A YOUNG MAN walked into a police station in Memphis, Tennessee, on February 21 and asked three questions: "Do you know of any Communist organization operating in Memphis? Is there any headquarters here for Communist propaganda? If so, where is it?" For this crime he was immediately and forthwith taken into custody, questioned, locked up and held incomunicado for thirty-six hours, and made to stand in the police "show-up" on Monday morning. This story, however, has a happy ending. It appears that the young man, Henry R. Fuller by name, was not without friends in Memphis. He is an honor graduate of the University of North Carolina, a salesman for Houghton Mifflin Company, and, best of all, the great-grandson of Tennessee's first great man, Governor John Sevier. All this, when some thoughtful person brought it to the attention of the commissioner of police, made that official very, very polite to Mr. Fuller and occasioned his speedy release. Certain intellectuals and prominent citizens and the Memphis *Press-Scimitar* have displayed considerable agitation and chagrin over the affair; Mr. Fuller has even been advised to bring suit against the city of Memphis. But Police Commissioner Davis has a very simple explanation to make: "Of course," he said, "when he came in and wanted Communist headquarters, they locked him up." The *Press-Scimitar* comments: "Don't ask the policeman where the pesthouse is or he is likely to arrest you on a charge of having the smallpox."

A SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD GIRL recently committed suicide out of shame and chagrin. She was the daughter of a woman who had been strangled a few days earlier in New York City, just as she was about to offer herself as a witness in the inquiry into vice conditions being conducted by Justice Seabury. It is reported that the daughter could not bear the stories she read in "the more sensational newspapers" about her mother's career. This vividly recalls Louis Weitzenkorn's play "Five-Star Final," now in its third month in New York. Mr. Weitzenkorn directs his lance at the tabloids for dragging into print for purposes of circulation the intimate details of the life of a woman with a "past," who is now living a quite ordinary and respectable life. In the play the woman and her husband are driven to suicide, just as the schoolgirl was in fact. The cases are not strictly parallel, of course. Mr. Weitzenkorn's play deals with matters of purely private concern; the Gordon case is part of a public matter of the highest importance, namely, the partnership of courts and police with vice and crime. None the less, the handling of this case, even by the high-class newspapers, indicates once more the disagreeable fact that sensational scandal news is a circulation-getter. Incidentally, it is an interesting commentary on the people of New York that the man chosen by them for mayor with the largest plurality in the city's history, at this point in the vice scandals is about to take a month's vacation. Mr. Walker, however, expresses himself as being "more or less shocked" by the disclosures daily being made. That, we suppose, is something.

IN THE ISSUE of *The Nation* for February 18 it was stated on the authority of the Berlin *Tagebuch* that the *Frankfurter Zeitung* had recently disposed "of a large part of its stock to the German dye trust." The New York representative of this newspaper has informed us that the statement "does not correspond with the facts." He cited a denial of this report published by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in which it was asserted that the majority of the capital stock is still held by the Simon-Sonnemann family, and that not a single share "is to be found in the hands of the I. G. Farbenindustrie [German dye trust] or any other industrial company."

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Two Years of Hoover

BACK in 1928 we were assured in many quarters that Herbert Hoover would never amount to much as a politician, but that as President he would outshine most, if not all, of his thirty predecessors. He was to be the great scientific executive, the engineer President; his intellect would solve our social and economic problems in a manner decisive and just, and far beyond the mental or moral capacity of our political office-holders. We were to have an intelligently liberal government unfettered by petty politics. Hundreds of speakers and writers promised us "four more years of prosperity," and even Mr. Hoover himself declared that "given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years we shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." A perfect President Mr. Hoover was to be, a politician never. Two years of his benevolent rule have, however, proved the reverse to be nearer the truth. Herbert Hoover has revealed himself as sadly unfitted for the high office he occupies; his widely advertised intelligence and courage have failed him; he has spent twenty-four months trying to play the kind of politics necessary to win him reelection in 1932.

Mr. Hoover's record on the tariff question affords one example of his tendency to desert his avowed principles when he deems it politically expedient to do so. He called the Seventy-first Congress into early session in 1929 for the announced purpose of revising the tariff in order to aid the farmer. Earlier he had declared that what he desired was a scientific tariff; his extra-session call asked for limited revision. Yet he sat idly by, not once lifting his voice in defense of his original position, while Senator Grundy, with the able assistance of Senators Smoot, Reed, Bingham, and others, maneuvered Congress into accepting the highest tariff rates in the history of the country.

It is in connection with the economic depression, however, that Mr. Hoover's record is most discouraging. Immediately after the stock-market crash the Engineering Mind swung into action to prevent the Wall Street collapse from turning into a nation-wide tragedy. On November 15, 1929, he announced:

> I have, during the past week, engaged in numerous conferences with important business leaders and public officials with a view to the coordination of business and governmental agencies in concerted action for continued business progress. I am calling for the middle of next week a small preliminary conference of representatives of industry, agriculture, and labor to meet with the Secretaries of the Treasury, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, together with the chairman of the Federal Farm Board, to develop certain definite steps.

Other conferences were held at the White House; there were promises that wages would be maintained at the levels then obtaining, that unemployment would be checked, and that prosperity would be restored in short order. Two weeks later in his message to Congress Mr. Hoover said he was "convinced that through these measures we have reestablished confidence. Wages should remain stable. A very large degree of industrial unemployment and suffering which would otherwise have occurred has been prevented." Somehow or other the magic of words failed to meet the emergency. It was necessary to repeat them again and again throughout 1930. In another place in this issue *The Nation* publishes one of the many Hoover statements of the year. The flow of words (Mr. Hoover's substitute for concrete and intelligent action) continued until December of last year, when the President apparently washed his hands of the whole business by declaring in his second annual message that "economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement. Economic wounds must be healed by the action of the cells of the economic body—the producers and consumers themselves."

Unfortunately, there were certain men in Congress who disagreed with Mr. Hoover in his contention that the organized state has no responsibility to the individual members of the state. They insisted that the government should bear its full share of responsibility in the economic crisis, and they were rewarded for their honesty by being accused of "playing politics at the expense of human misery." After the long and disgraceful fight over the use of government funds for the relief of the unemployed and the drought victims, Mr. Hoover's views finally prevailed, not because they were wise and just, for that they most certainly were not, but because he had the prestige of official position, which he employed to bring public opinion as expressed by the daily press to his side, and because he had learned a great deal about politics in his twenty months in the White House.

Mr. Hoover's political and economic philosophy is one of extreme individualism, one might almost say of anarchy. Society as a whole has no privileges or rights; government is but an umpire; only the strongest individuals are important, and it is to them the honors must go. Thus spoke Mr. Hoover in his King's Mountain speech of October 7 last, and thus he has spoken many times before and since. It is a philosophy that would do credit to a Jay Cooke or a Morgan the Elder, or even to a Proudhon the anarchist. It explains the President's bitter opposition to the Muscle Shoals plan, to the government's feeding the hungry and clothing the needy, and to all similar proposals to have the state help its members collectively in any way that might impinge upon the privileges of a few of them as individuals.

It is too early to inquire into the effect upon his political fortunes of Mr. Hoover's record to date. It appears that he has recently strengthened rather than weakened his chances of reelection in 1932. His tariff stand, his veto of the veterans'-loan measure, the Muscle Shoals bill, and the Wagner employment-exchange bill, his position on railway consolidation, and his extravagant defense of the Treasury (meaning, of course, the wealthier taxpayers) against Congressional raids have enhanced his standing with the industrialists and financiers who actually control national politics in this country. And he can always lead the voters away from a too critical scrutiny of his domestic record by pointing to the much-advertised London naval treaty and his other activities in the foreign field.

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The Muscle Shoals Veto

DISAPPOINTED though we are at the loss of the Muscle Shoals bill, we are glad to see the President in his veto message raise a fundamental issue concerning public operation. On that issue, we believe, he is absolutely wrong. We are none the less grateful to him for making the issue clear and inviting public judgment.

His examination of the engineering and financial aspects of the project we do not find at all convincing. It is easy to set up figures. Estimating the total value of the old property for the electrical project at $42,000,000 and the new capital required at $85,000,000, a total of $127,000,000, Mr. Hoover figures interest and amortization at nearly $7,000,000 a year, with operating and maintenance costs bringing the total annual expense up to $9,145,000, or a cost of 9.1 mills per kilowatt hour for production and distribution of power on an estimated salable output of 1,000,000,000 kilowatt hours per year. Selling this output at the 7.2 mill rate realized by the private companies in this district, the President is able to figure out an eminently satisfactory loss of at least $2,000,000 a year as the inevitable result of public operation. With all deference we submit that Mr. Hoover's public use of figures during the two years of his Presidency has unfortunately not been such as to command instant confidence. Furthermore, a great capital was irrevocably sunk at Muscle Shoals in pursuance of war purposes, and the accounting is materially affected thereby. Without entering upon detailed criticism, we simply remind our readers, by contrast with the President's figures, of the army engineers' report cited by Senator Black, estimating the total cost of producing Muscle Shoals power at 1.36 mills a kilowatt hour and that of distribution within 350 miles at 4.16 mills—a total of 5.52 mills. Senator Norris points out that with the completion of the Cove Creek dam the actual cost of production would be below one mill. (On power used locally—for example, in producing fertilizers—there would of course be no transmission cost.) We forbear to figure on the President's alternative proposal to turn the plant as it stands over to Alabama and Tennessee for lease, though we could, with a little ingenuity, calculate an annual loss to Uncle Sam for interest and amortization under it at either $2,300,000 or $6,000,000, as happened best to suit our fancy.

The real issue, the President says, is "federal government ownership and operation of power and manufacturing business not as a minor by-product but as a major purpose." With regard to power, we believe this statement to be strictly accurate, though we realize that Senator Norris does not see the question in this light. We are glad to have the issue squarely presented. For the government to enter on such an undertaking, we learn, "is to break down the initiative and enterprise of the American people; it is destruction of equality of opportunity among our people; it is the negation of the ideals upon which our civilization has been based." Here we disagree flatly. We do not concede that American civilization is and must be essentially a hard-fisted, hard-headed, hard-hearted grabbing for gain. That appears to be the President's conception, for he is "firmly opposed to the government entering into any business the main purpose of which is competition with our citizens." But the primary purpose of government operation of Muscle Shoals would be, not to compete with citizens, but to furnish them with cheap power and fertilizers. Despite Mr. Hoover, we insist that that is a perfectly legitimate and desirable end of government activity, and an end more important than maintaining the existing profits of private power companies.

Power, the President insists, must be furnished by private enterprise alone. But it can be provided economically only by linking power units into great unified systems, whereupon that competition of citizens so dear to the President becomes a vain and imaginary thing. This fact he recognizes himself; for instead of appealing to competition he declares that the remedy for abuses in the power industry lies in regulation by State and federal authority. Again we believe he is wrong. Experience indicates with increasing clearness that regulation does not and will not cure the abuses of the power business, because the companies, with their great wealth and immensely valuable privileges, constantly manage, in the unashamed pursuit of profits, to circumvent or control the regulating authorities. Witness the Federal Power Commission itself. We entertain no illusion as to the ease of getting efficient and economical public administration of power systems, but we can no longer cherish the romantic idea of satisfactory control of private companies through regulatory commissions. Behind the Muscle Shoals fight lie two conceptions of the American government—the President's view that it is simply a referee to see that the rules of a contest among its citizens are observed, and the contrasted belief that it is, and increasingly is to be, an agency of public service. Over that issue we shall continue to wage war on the President.

Progress in India

THE agreement between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi which brings at least a temporary peace to India after a year of intense and bitter strife seems to us to constitute a firm beginning toward a solution of the British-Indian dilemma. By the terms of the agreement, the civil-disobedience campaign is to be called off and all prisoners not charged with violence are to be released, while repressive measures promulgated in connection with the campaign are to be withdrawn. Non-payment of land taxes is to cease and confiscated property is to be returned except when it is no longer in the possession of the government. It is intimated that the government will facilitate the recovery of property if it is found to have been illegally disposed of. The boycott against British goods as such "as a political weapon" is abandoned by the Congress Party, but encouragement of Indian industries as part of an economic and industrial movement designed to improve the material condition of India is approved by the government, and the discouragement by lawful means, that is, unaggressive picketing, of consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs will not be interfered with. While the government refused to abandon the salt monopoly and the salt tax, it agrees to permit local residents in villages immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made, to collect and make salt for domestic consumption or sale within such villages. With regard to Mr. Gandhi's demand for a public inquiry

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into the conduct of the police, the words of the agreement are worth quoting as an example of the conciliatory tone in which delicate questions are handled.

> Mr. Gandhi has drawn the attention of the government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police, and has represented the desirability of a public inquiry into them. In the present circumstances the government sees great difficulty in this course and feels it must inevitably lead to charges and counter-charges which would militate against the reestablishment of peace. Having regard for these considerations, Mr. Gandhi has agreed not to press the matter.

The agreement, which is expressly confined to activities directly connected with the civil-disobedience movement, does not go into the matter of the constitution but provides for a round-table conference on that question at which the Congress Party shall be represented and which is referred to in Paragraph 2 of the agreement as follows:

> As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussions is stated with the assent of His Majesty's government to have as its object consideration of a further scheme for constitutional government in India, to be discussed at a round-table conference. Of the scheme outlined federation is an essential part. So also are Indian responsibilities, and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India for such matters as, for instance, defense, external affairs, the position of minorities, the financial credits of India, and the discharge of obligations.

It would seem from the foregoing that the principle of federation is the only finality which will be carried over from the first round-table conference to the second. Logically, the left wing of the Congress Party, urging complete and immediate independence, will find obnoxious Mr. Gandhi's indicated admission of safeguards and reservations even as subjects for discussion. Yet Jawaharlal Nehru has approved the agreement. We shall probably know better the meaning of the paragraph and of Mr. Gandhi's position after the party meeting at Karachi. Meanwhile, we feel inclined to say with Tagore, "Let me believe in his [Gandhi's] firmness, not my doubts."

Certainly his statement, issued after the agreement had been signed, declaring that "I must confess that what seems to have been yielded by them [the British] to India at the London conference is not even half enough" is indication enough that all the decisions and many of the difficulties are still ahead. But at least some of the difficulties have been left behind. For the first time the two dominant forces in this struggle—the British government and the Congress Party—have met; they have met on the real battleground—not London but India itself. In words, at least, Britain, through Lord Irwin, has made important concessions. If it proves to be actually so, it will indicate that India has demonstrated to British business men in India if not to the Empire-savers in London that it can take away a great market which Britain cannot afford to lose. Only a romantic Tory like Winston Churchill, and least of all a business man with money to lose, can see the logic of saving the name of empire at the price of losing its economic substance. What the new Indian conference will bring forth no one can tell. It may mean deadlock and a resumption of civil disobedience. But at least it will mean that the real combatants will meet. And that is a step forward.

Can America Play?

THE National Recreation Association on April 12 celebrates its twenty-fifth anniversary. In that time organized play in America has grown from a total of forty-one cities which could report public playgrounds to nearly a thousand communities which conduct some form of public recreation. The association's annual income has grown from $7,700 to $427,000; its membership from 408 to 14,538. At its beginning funds for public recreation were raised by tag days, by bazaars, by public subscriptions; these funds now come honestly and properly from taxation. It has spread from a group of children's playgrounds, voluntarily administered, to recreational activities that include playgrounds, athletic fields, parks, swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, and camps, in the main under municipal auspices.

It should not be necessary to stress the importance of this movement. In the cities, where the majority of Americans now live, recreation ranges all the way from the movies, the dance halls, the skating rinks, and the soft-drink parlors to the gambling houses and speakeasies. Each of these enterprises is privately operated for gain. Neither the health of the mind nor that of the body is considered; in many cases the age of the participant is not considered either. It is a familiar sight in any town or city, during summer vacations and after school hours, to see a queue of children at the movie houses, waiting to be "taken in" by some good-natured adult, since children under sixteen are not supposed to be admitted without adult companions. There can be no question of the relative merits, on the one hand, of the motion pictures, with their cheap melodrama, their insistence on sex, their vulgarity expressed even more plainly now by speech, and, on the other hand, of organized play. In large cities where space is at a very high premium, recreation for children is probably best connected with the schools. The Recreation Association has insisted on the need of building new schools in large free areas; sites permitting three to five acres of play space are favored for elementary schools; the standard for junior and senior high schools is ten to twenty acres.

The need for adult recreation, for adult, creative community activity, is no less pressing. Here the Recreation Association is striving—successfully in many places—not only for indoor and outdoor sports, but for handicrafts, dramatics, music under public auspices. The little-theater movement, which has given birth to as lusty an offspring as the Theater Guild, is a phase of the public recreation movement. Community choruses, popular in smaller cities and numerous throughout the country, are another. Public-health activities flourish under it. The removal of "keep-off-the-grass" signs from public parks and the metamorphosis of those parks from "scenery" to areas of free land which the public may enjoy is the result of organized recreational activities. Westchester County, New York, has one of the finest recreational centers in the country; Detroit, Minneapolis, Houston, Los Angeles, Cleveland deserve mention, with many others. Started with the encouragement of President Roosevelt in 1906, the Playground Association—now the National Recreation Association—has seen a public need, has gone a long way toward meeting it, and is now busily engaged in furthering and amplifying its activities.

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Wanted: Another World Conference

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

London, February 18

EUROPEAN conference has followed upon European conference. And so many of them have ended in total failure or a flimsy pretense of success that people everywhere are cynical or disgusted, declaring that "they always end in talk." Fortunately there are exceptions to the record—first of all, the notable success of the late Indian conference, which achieved the apparently impossible, thanks to the courage, skill, and persistency of Ramsay MacDonald. But if there were no favorable precedents whatever, it would still seem to me that another conference ought to be called at the earliest possible moment.

What kind of conference? A conference among the heads of a small group of nations—Italy, the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium—for the purpose of examining immediately the actual situation in Europe and taking some steps to end the present world-wide economic crisis. Here again I hear dissent: Has there not just been an economic conference at Geneva, which gave to the press of the world an excellent statement of economic conditions, signed by twenty-seven nations? The answer is that this is not the time for statements, whether they are signed by twenty-seven nations or by all the nations on earth. What the hour calls for is *action,* and action before it is too late. As I have pointed out before in this correspondence, there is no time to be lost. This is, of course, not simply my own humble opinion. It is the deliberate judgment of the leading economists with whom I have talked in Germany and Austria this winter, and it is the opinion of a number of people whom I have seen here in England. And it must be a conference of heads of governments because it must be a gathering of men who can act, or can give reasonable assurances that their governments will be bound by whatever decisions are arrived at. That this makes the participation of the United States practically impossible is plain. Probably nothing on earth would induce Mr. Hoover to follow Mr. Wilson's precedent and cross the seas to attend such a meeting, even if he were to become aware of the gravity of the world situation, as he gives no sign of being today. He would undoubtedly have to send a substitute—woe betide should it be Mr. Stimson or Mr. Mellon—and whoever it might be would be handicapped by having to ascertain not only the opinions of Mr. Hoover, but perhaps even the wishes of the Senate. None the less, a conference is needed and needed badly, with or without the United States. Upon this point all thoughtful men here not in office agree.

The primary reason is, of course, that the present economic crisis is a world crisis. There are those here, like Maynard Keynes, who think that it may last as long as the economic depression which followed the Napoleonic wars. The world was an infinitely smaller entity then. It is a commonplace that the World War made us realize for the first time the world's present economic unity and the absolute dependence of one nation upon another. The crisis is driving this truth home with irresistible force: it seems impossible for America to return to its previous prosperity without Europe's complete restoration to economic health, while, conversely, everybody here feels that there can be no hope of overcoming the crisis on this side of the Atlantic until recovery is assured in America. Why should there not be a conference to deal with this unprecedentedly dangerous situation?

The minute one raises the question in official circles the obstacles are presented. What, it is asked, can Europe do if America will not move, since America holds the key to the whole situation—the golden key? What practical thing could such a conference achieve? Well, perhaps an agreement to reduce the tariffs which everywhere in Europe and in America hinder the progress of the world's trade as beaver dams block the flow of mountain streams. But the French are unyielding on the question of tariffs. What is the use? The answer is that the first advantage to be gained would be a psychological one. The entire business world of Europe would breathe anew if it learned that governmental heads were conferring upon emergency measures. In Germany especially, the summoning of Chancellor Brüning to such a conference would have immediate and far-reaching reactions. It would come at a happy moment, on top of his parliamentary successes and the relatively favorable action taken at Geneva upon Germany's anti-Polish protests. It would refute the arguments of the Hitlerites that the Chancellor is without influence in international affairs, and that nothing whatever is being done by him to improve Germany's international situation. To all this the doubters reply that if such a conference met and returned empty-handed the result would be far more discouraging than if it had never been called together. They overlook the fact that a free interchange of opinion between the heads of governments could not be other than valuable, even though the foreign ministers of the same countries met less than two weeks ago in Geneva.

Next comes the question of precedents—precedents are the joy of an office-holder when he cannot conjure up any other obstacle. It is explained that such a conference must have Briand in it to be successful, and you could not have Briand if other countries were represented by their prime ministers or chancellors. Nobody seems to want the attendance of Mussolini. I have already referred to the hampering American precedent. The others at least could be brushed aside. It is easy to prophesy that they will be brushed aside if the crisis becomes serious enough. But this question of America is more difficult. Onlookers here have been struck by the many signs of a changing public opinion in America. Bush, Hurley, Owen Young, Nicholas Murray Butler, Outerbridge, Warburg, Speyer, Wiggin—the list of those asking a reexamination of our relations to Europe is growing every day. Europeans are properly impressed by it. Naturally, they do not always understand that the bankers cited are under suspicion, first, because they are international and Wall Street bankers, and, secondly, because some of them have made loans to Germany and it is therefore felt that their advice is not unbiased—a consideration which cannot apply to Bush, Butler,

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or Outerbridge. But if responsible opinion is changing in the United States, the process is too slow to be really helpful. There is no time to wait, not even for a year, at the end of which time Mr. Hoover will be facing the question of his renomination and reelection. If the crisis in America continues to be as severe as it is now, or the recovery is extremely slow, the politicians will surely be much more ready to understand that they cannot hope for a return to normal times until America has helped to put Europe on its feet. Even then there will be the difficulty of forgiving debts when there is a large Treasury deficit, with the danger of an increase of income taxes clearly in the offing.

None the less, if things continue as they are in Europe, the day will come when Mr. Hoover, the politicians, the press, and the public will have squarely to face anew the question of reparations and debts, which Mr. Hoover, in his unhappy speech to the American Legion in Boston only last fall, declared to be an accomplished fact which no proper American would seek further to discuss or to reopen. The reason for this is that if things continue as they are, Germany will ask for her moratorium, to which she is entitled under the Young Plan, and the French and English will find themselves in an immediate quandary as to how they can continue to pay America when Germany ceases to pay them. If there is one thing which is keeping Philip Snowden awake at night it is surely the dread lest he suddenly hear that he must include in his extraordinarily difficult budget the amount of money for the United States which now automatically flows from Berlin to Washington by way of London. It would seem an impossible task to obtain this additional amount—£38,000,000—from the British taxpayer.

But what will the American government do if, after Germany defaults, the British and French refuse to go on with their payments? Mr. Hoover will certainly then discover that reparations and debts are after all not a finished fact, and that it will be quite in order for a loyal and patriotic American to discuss these questions, and even to take part in a conference which would not only consider them, but would see if something could be done about moving the mass of gold accumulated in the United States and France, and would deal with the question, among others, of leveling all tariffs. Let no one underestimate the seriousness of the situation which will arise if England and France also ask for a moratorium in their debt payments. That it will cause anger and bad blood in America there can be no doubt. To the average American who does not know what the real situation over here is, it will doubtless seem like wilful defaulting on a debt of honor—a poor reward, indeed, for the financial rescue of the Allies when they were bankrupt in 1917. All the more reason for the proposed conference, if it can do anything whatever to head off any such outburst of feeling in America, or at least prepare the public for what may prove to be the inevitable, and make it clear that *every consideration of self-interest* should make the American taxpayer eager to get rid of debts owed to him which are largely contributing to the terrible losses being inflicted in America by the present crisis, with its dreadful unemployment, poverty, suffering, and complete dislocation of our social and economic life.

Here in London the financial world is again opposed to the Labor Chancellor of the Exchequer. A number of Germans in key positions have told me of their being strongly urged by British financiers to help in bringing about a moratorium by Germany. The London "City" wants the Germans to start the ball rolling by refusing further payments. The British financiers are united in their belief that this question of reparations and debts is at the bottom of the world crisis. They do not by any means believe that this is the only thing that is wrong with the financial world. Like the German financiers and statesmen with whom I have talked, they understand that there are numerous other causes at work. But they do firmly believe in the enormous psychological effect of a joint cancelation of debts, as well as the economic advantages. They are quite clear in their own minds that even the passage of German money through London to New York has its deleterious effect, and they want the whole problem tackled, and tackled quickly. I believe that they would unanimously stand behind the British Prime Minister if he should decide to call the conference herein suggested. More than that, important English organizations like the Quakers and the League of Nations Union are interesting themselves in this question. A committee of the Friends has been for some time past writing to the United States to let it be known among the Quakers there that the present situation is not to be trifled with, and that America should take the lead.

For one, I should not be afraid that any such conference as is here suggested could meet and adjourn without really accomplishing anything. It would be well worth while even if it merely discussed the question of the unhappy burden put upon Germany by the rise in the price of gold, which increases her debts between 10 and 30 per cent because of the dropping out, in the Young Plan, of the gold clause contained in the Dawes Plan. Should this injustice be done away with, Chancellor Brüning's position would be enormously strengthened. Such a conference would naturally first discuss economic questions, but it could not get very far in the consideration of these matters without touching upon the issues of war and peace in Europe. Europe cannot have that feeling of security necessary to a sound economic life until certain dangerous political symptoms are done away with. It is not surprising that European statesmen are as reluctant to tackle these problems as most American politicians are slow to study with open mind the question of the debt settlements. But here, too, the simple fact is that Europe cannot go on under these conditions and survive. It is not surprising that a Frenchman, Count Vladimir d'Ormesson, has just declared, in making his suggestion that half of Germany's debts be remitted, that the next two years will "decide the fate of Europe." It is a daily occurrence to meet men who see an entirely communized Europe within ten years if something is not done.

If this is so, then, obviously, everything ought to be tried, to prevent a catastrophe. Is it really true that Europe would be worse off if such a conference were called and came away without any concrete achievement? I do not think so. It should not meet with a definite program to be accomplished, but if, after meeting, its members went away unable to achieve anything in the face of the threat of oncoming disaster, then we should at any rate have gained the knowledge that European governments are once more bankrupt in statesmanship, that the men who now hold office are incompetent to govern in this emergency, and that the capitalist system is deservedly nearing its end.

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Why Mothers Die

By MARY SUMNER BOYD

BY the failure of the Congress just ended to pass the Jones bill (S. 255), which would have revived the work for maternity and infancy discontinued by the Children's Bureau in 1929, the attention of the public is directed toward the large, unnecessary, and possibly increasing—certainly not in any year since 1900 decreasing—loss of mothers in childbirth. Though Dr. Livingston Farrand has called our annual loss of nearly 20,000 mothers an "outstanding American disgrace," the sacrifice of mothers is not a peculiarly American phenomenon. It is a world condition. The rate of the Near and Far East we cannot know, but it must be far above that of countries of European civilization. Among the latter, with the exception of the three in the Scandinavian group, there is none which loses less than 30 and few lose less than 40 mothers in 10,000 live births. This loss is from 50 to 85 per cent preventable. Among these countries, so far as we can compare international statistics, the United States appears to stand with Chile at the very head (or foot) of the list, with a mortality in 1929 of 70 in 10,000 live births, a rate which our own obstetricians tell us is 85 or even 90 per cent unnecessary.

The exact reason that the United States has this undesirable supremacy nobody knows, though we can conjecture some of the elements that enter into it. Our mixed blood and our foreign-born population have been suggested in explanation, but mixed blood has never been a physical detriment and the foreign-born have brought with them quite as good methods of maternity care as we ourselves offer. A truer guess based on race would be the effect of the Negro, for this frail and neglected race has throughout the Union a very much higher maternal mortality than the whites. Undoubtedly our vast distances, which often mean remoteness from any but ignorant neighbor help in such States as Montana (with a rate of 84 in 1929), increase the losses in those States and through them raise the national rate. But greatest of all factors, and this is not conjecture, is the effect of the native-born midwife, American mountain white, Mexican, and Negro, on the losses in all our Southern States.

The foreign midwife, with her long years of training, her many hundred student cases, her constant supervision by health authorities, and her contact with obstetrical specialists in case of emergencies, is one of the bright spots in foreign maternity care. She is responsible for the low rates of the Scandinavian countries and the figures, low in the 30's, of Finland, Italy, and Japan. But it is quite otherwise with our ignorant and benighted native product.

South Carolina in 1929 headed our list with 114 mothers dead in 10,000 live births. Louisiana and Alabama both had rates of 99, Florida and Georgia followed close behind, and the rest of the Southern States were all higher, most of them very much higher, than the average rate for the nation. Such figures as these must raise the average, especially as we have no very low figures to offset them. The rate for England—of which that country is deeply ashamed—was 44 in 1928, yet our proudest boast is Minnesota with 43, and we have only one other State in the 40's and only eleven of the forty-eight under 60. Until very recently the inadequacy of laws on matters touching maternity care and the laxness of public-health authorities in enforcing them have undoubtedly been elements of weakness in all States. Another element of weakness has been the neglect by health authorities of the immigrant, foreign-trained midwife whose standards and practice in her native country had been maintained by official public-health supervision. Possibly these facts are enough to explain why we stand in such a glaring and unenviable light, especially as we must add to them a general intensification, characteristic of our large-scale way of doing things, of those causes of maternal mortality which we share with all countries of like civilization.

The specific injuries recorded on death certificates of women who die in childbirth are the same and in the same order all over the world. First stands septicemia or puerperal fever, which in this country is responsible for about 40 per cent of the deaths; second, albuminuria with eclampsia, about 23 per cent; and, third, "other causes," a blanket group of emergencies, abnormalities, operative procedures, and the like, about 37 per cent. Only by a knowledge of the historical setting of maternity care can we understand why these injuries and diseases have been allowed to cause destruction on so large a scale, for our twentieth-century mortality is not an outgrowth, as some would have us believe, of modern conditions; it is a survival of an even larger death-rate which goes back to the time man first stood upright. For our purposes, as spiritual descendants of the Hebrews, our maternal mortality has a history which begins with the Book of Genesis, when it was made a matter of religious scruple to neglect the mother in childbed, since this was her deserved punishment. The Curse of Eve exercised the greatest influence on the Jewish mind, so great an influence that the men who wrote the Old Testament used it as the supreme curse, the type of suffering they would like to see inflicted on all the enemies of Jehovah. They made it a religious duty not to mitigate it in the case of woman, the original accursed one. This vengeful psychology we inherited, and even in our own day the curse of Eve has affected all maternity care. The last time it openly figured in medical literature under that title was in the middle of the last century, in opposition to the development of an obstetrical science which concerned itself with normal birth. Through certain religious influences, especially in remote or congested localities, where most mothers are confined, it still handicaps the physician at every turn.

In medicine itself its more gently entitled and more reasonable-sounding offspring has taken its place; this is the hypnotic slogan, repeated by the smiling family physician in the face of appalling figures of death and injury, that childbirth is merely a "physiological function" and nothing to worry about. It is safe to say that no obstetrical specialist any longer believes this; all know its dangers and are bitter in their denunciation of a practice based on it. Never-

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theless, through the village doctor and the non-medical public, it is the principle on which is based the general practice of maternity care throughout the world. It is this attitude of mind which makes the public demand cheapness in the lying-in and which makes the care that is afforded cheap in every bad sense of the word.

We have our own native midwives as our distinctive illustration of this attitude, but the whole civilized world shares with us the example of the family doctor—a still greater problem because of the number of cases he handles—who builds his practice around his obstetrical cases and who learns his obstetrics on the bodies of his patients. In the United States in 1928, 112,000 general practitioners attended more than half—far more, probably two-thirds—of the two and a quarter million mothers who were confined. With what results? The death-rates of some of those States where there were no midwives to take the blame suggests the answer. In a year when the national rate was 64, the rate of four States with no midwives was 75, as against the relatively low rate of 59 for four States where foreign-trained midwives were in practice. Further evidence against the village doctor can be grouped around the two greatest single causes of death, septicemia and albuminuria, for which he has as great a responsibility, when we take the whole country into account, as has the ignorant and dirty midwife of the South. Her excuse is that she does not know, but he has no excuse, for throughout two generations all medicine has known that puerperal fever is a contagious disease whose spread can be prevented, and the methods of preventing albuminuria have been known for fifty years.

Yet the doctor described by Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose puerperal-fever cases "follow his footsteps with the keenness of a beagle through the streets and lanes of a crowded city," we have with us still. He is described by the late Dr. George C. Mosher as the physician "who comes from erysipelis or some other virulent infectious disease and does not even change his clothes or put on gloves to deliver the clean obstetric patient." Precautions he would automatically use for what surgery comes to him are not deemed necessary for the purely physiological function of birth. Yet septicemia is very largely preventable; handled with the same antiseptic precautions as surgery, it need never spread beyond the case of its origin.

A like responsibility lies on the family doctor for the prevalence of albuminuria. It too is almost 90 per cent preventable, and the means of prevention is prenatal care. In the intensive studies of maternal mortality in fifteen States now being carried on by the Children's Bureau and State medical societies the great majority of the women had received no supervision or utterly inadequate supervision during pregnancy. Prenatal care means visits to the doctor, and visits to the doctor cost money. Besides, pregnancy is a natural function and the doctor pays very little attention to it; truth to say he knows very little about it.

The doctor bears the blame for this, but the real responsibility does not lie with the individual. It rests on organized medicine for the neglect of the science of obstetrics, both in general and in particular, in the medical schools. Everywhere in the world obstetrics is "the blank page in the curriculum." Surgery and medicine absorb the teaching and clinical hours; obstetrics and the professor of obstetrics are despised and given the leavings. Though this is international, America leads the world; in foreign schools the teaching hours are approximately two of surgery for one of obstetrics, but with us the relation is four and a half to one. Yet the proportions of the use of his training made by the family doctor in his practice are 50 per cent medicine, 35 per cent obstetrics—including always the possibility of desperate emergencies—and 15 per cent (minor) surgery. A concrete picture of the inadequacy of obstetrical preparation is given by the Council of Medical Education of the American Medical Association. In its summing up at the end of 1929 the council reported that of 1,491 internes in approved teaching hospitals, 334 graduated without having delivered any women and 235 had not even observed deliveries; more than 200 had attended less than ten deliveries and only 70 had attended fifty or more. This is a startling contrast to the foreign-trained midwife with her minimum of 100 deliveries before graduation. Small wonder that the general practitioner does not think that obstetrics matters. His habit of mind has been formed in the medical school, where it is despised, derided, and neglected, and this habit of mind is fixed early in practice by the indifferent attitude of his patients and by their low estimate of the value of the mother's lying-in.

Most practitioners take their maternity cases with others as they fall in the day's work, but a few gradually set up without additional training as specialists in "baby cases." Most of these men carry with them to their work the same light-hearted standards of obstetrical practice, and in new and equally fatal ways they learn upon the bodies of their patients. They send them often to open hospitals where there is no segregation of maternity patients, few antiseptic precautions of other sorts, and no obstetrical supervision. Here, on the principle that in obstetrics one man is as good as another, they essay to carry out delicate operative procedures that require the specialist. This is largely what has given us the high rate of deaths under "other causes" and it has had no small part in deaths from septicemia. It has also given an unenviable reputation for mothers' deaths to the smaller cities of such States as New York, where open hospitals abound, unsupervised as to maternity cases.

Granted that the bad type of midwife and the ill-trained physician share the larger responsibility, there remains to be considered the obstetrician's own share, for there is a case against him in every country. There are in the United States about 8,000 obstetrical specialists, "80 per cent of them east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio." They too have been handicapped and the development of their science has been very seriously retarded by the traditional social attitude toward maternity. From 1840 to 1850 there was what promised to be an epoch-making development toward normalizing childbirth—toward, with the aid of science, really making it a "physiological function." The great names in this movement are J. Marion Sims of Alabama, founder of gynecology; James P. White of Buffalo, who—boldest of them all and almost ruined for his pioneering—held the first obstetrical clinic; Holmes and Semmelweis, who proved the contagiousness of puerperal fever; and James Young Simpson of Edinburgh, founder of obstetrical anaesthesia, who openly fought the curse of Eve.

To this decade also belongs the discovery of anaesthesia

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and the beginning of a true science of surgery. If obstetrics had at that time been regarded as of equal importance and equal dignity with surgery; if it had been given equal place in the schools at the start, and if the work of these five men had been followed by ordinary and logical development along the lines in which they pioneered, obstetrics would now be the equal of medicine and surgery and there would today be no enormous death-rate of mothers but only an irreducible minimum from abnormal conditions. What came of Simpson's work cannot be discussed here. What has happened to Holmes's and Semmelweis's contributions has already been told; how greatly White's contribution has failed of its purpose we can judge by the neglect of clinical obstetrics today.

The history of Sims's contribution, gynecology, explains the present plight of obstetrics. Briefly, the story is this. Obstetrics, midwifery, the science of normal childbirth, was, as Dr. De Lee expresses it mildly, "in disesteem"; an obstetrician was sneered at, teachers of obstetrics were held to be in an unworthy occupation and were called by such titles as "he-grandmother to a man midwife." Surgery was in high honor and became more and more exalted as the possibilities of anaesthesia developed. So gynecology, originally designed, as its name indicates, to cover the whole reproductive life of woman from adolescence to the menopause, became a branch of surgery and the science that by operation mends the injuries inflicted by the despised and ill-trained or untrained obstetrician. There are whole fields in woman's reproductive life, such as the toxemias and abnormal psychoses of pregnancy, the sex life from fifteen to forty-five years, the mechanics of normal labor, about which little is known and in which there is crying need of research. Above all, the protection of normal labor begun in that great decade has been interrupted, with the result that it can be said without danger of contradiction that the death-rate of mothers today is not from gross abnormalities, which are relatively rare, but from neglect of normal spontaneous labor. And this neglect must be charged against not only the general practitioner but the obstetrician.

For strangely enough, but not unnaturally when we remember his history, the obstetrician has of late years turned more and more from natural to operative deliveries—to induced labor, the forceps, the caesarian, and a long list of ways of helping nature even in births where nature needs no help. The reason is not far to seek; he was tired of contempt, tired of being a man midwife, so he turned from safeguarding nature in her task and resorted to manual dexterity, to the surgery that was in such high esteem. Furthermore, he was himself in very many cases an operating gynecologist also, so surgery came naturally to him. By this means the specialist himself has added his quota, far the smallest it is true, to deaths in the group "other causes" and even, now and again, to deaths from septicemia.

About these causes of maternal mortality there is no controversy; all obstetricians accept them. There are, however, other and equally potent causes about which there is as yet no such common agreement and which this is not the place to discuss. The Jones bill which failed to become a law touches only the causes that are non-controversial. This, however, is a large field. The Children's Bureau by its seven years' work under the Shepard-Towner Act gave the only help ever offered to mothers on a nation-wide scale. While it lasted it made this country preeminent among the nations in its effort to right a great wrong. The work has been interrupted now for two years, and in some States the machinery for helping women in their hour of dire need is already showing signs of rust. Will the next Congress let the machinery go to pieces?

Doak the Deportation Chief

By GARDNER JACKSON

Washington, March 6

THE United States government is now midway in a drive to clear the land of everyone who cannot prove he is lawfully resident here. Heading the drive, President Hoover's Secretary of Labor, William N. Doak, finds satisfaction in the support he is receiving. "Never," he states, "has Congressional support for our deportation activities been so strong." And as for the White House, President Hoover has publicly assured Mr. Doak that he will not lack funds.

There are objectors, like the American Civil Liberties Union, in various cases, but, Secretary Doak points out, "the Civil Liberties crowd always objects, and the worse the aliens are the louder that crowd shouts." It seemed to disturb him somewhat to have Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York join the objectors.

Senator Wagner was troubled by the report of a raid a few weeks ago upon a dance of the Finnish Workers' Education Association in New York City. The New York *Times* report described the blocking of all exits of the Fifth Avenue dance hall by twenty Department of Labor agents and ten New York policemen, the lining up of the 1,000 guests, and the command that each of them show credentials proving his right to be in America. "In an atmosphere of hysteria tinged with indignation," wrote the *Times* reporter, "the dancers came forward singly and offered their proof. All but sixteen men and two women passed the test. These were taken to the West 123d Street police station and then to Ellis Island for deportation."

Senator Wagner suggested in a letter to Secretary Doak that he issue a denial of the raid, in which methods were used comparable to "the sensational methods which were first employed in the enforcement of prohibition." "It is error to assume," added Senator Wagner, "that only the alien will be harassed by the pursuit of this policy of raids and wholesale arrests. Drag-net methods will, without question, inflict injury and annoyance upon citizens and aliens alike."

Discussing the Senator's letter, Secretary Doak's immediate reaction was, "Well, the boys took sixteen men and two women who admitted they were in the country illegally. They knew what they were doing. They struck pay dirt

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all right, didn't they?" He recounted the recent arrest of some illegally resident aliens at a Lutheran Mission in New York City, with the sanction of the superintendent of the mission. "It was charged that we had raided a church," he explained. Elaborating upon the difficulties of apprehending deportable aliens, Secretary Doak stated his view of the problem by asking, "If you take away dances, homes, missions, and hospitals from us where do you expect we're going to get these fellows to deport?"

It was suggested to Secretary Doak that the objection of Senator Wagner and others is directed only at the methods used and that it is perhaps based upon the American tradition of the United States as a country founded as a haven for political refugees. "Yes," responded the Secretary without a moment's hesitation, "and we've been reaping the harvest ever since."

Three factors seem to contribute to the current campaign to corral and deport all deportable aliens—who number 400,000, according to Secretary Doak's estimate. The first factor is the hard times—the bread lines, in some of which, at Los Angeles, for example, the Secretary says, large numbers of illegally resident aliens were found. Whether the complaint on this score comes from the citizens in the bread lines themselves or from the city authorities and those who have the wherewithal to give charity is not made clear. One simply gains the impression from the Secretary that only bona fide citizens must be fed.

The second factor is the widespread racketeering of the gangster type, and in this connection Mr. Doak cites his recent interview with a delegation of "small merchants" from New York City who urged him to deport the gang of racketeers who have been quietly exacting tribute from them for some time. "The racketeering may not be as showy in New York as it is in Chicago," he observes, "but there's plenty of it." The Chicago racketeering game, he suspects, is peopled largely by Sicilians expelled from Italy by Mussolini.

The third factor is the anti-red sentiment which has been prevalent since the war in greater or less degree and which now seems to dominate a large section at least of the Congressional mind. Secretary Doak specifically denies any intention of singling out "the reds or any particular class" for deportation. But at the same time he evinces an especial sensitiveness at the mention of that aspect of his problem.

"What do you think the red newspapers would say," he asks, "if we raided your square down there—Union Square? You know how they'd yell." And by way of defining his position on the matter more clearly, he falls to talking of Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., who has in his opinion been unjustly pictured as a reactionary on these questions when in fact he is "a very sincere and liberal-minded man."

He concurs in Assistant Secretary of Labor White's enthusiasm for the investigation of communism by the Fish committee as laying the foundation for insertion of the word "Communist" in the deportation law alongside the word "anarchist," which is now there. Mr. White quotes approvingly the recommendation of Congressman Bachman to that effect and relates the success of Department of Labor agents in securing court acceptance of a number of deportation warrants in California issued against individuals merely because they were members of the Communist Party.

The Secretary's responsiveness to newspaper opinion, even though it be that of "red newspapers" which "yell," is further evidenced by his obvious resentment at the Scripps-Howard newspapers for defending the Italian Serio against the deportation order compelling him to go to Italy. "We are told we mustn't deport him to Italy because he'll be shot when he gets there," explains Mr. Doak, paraphrasing Serio's contention that Mussolini will do away with him because of his political activities against the Fascist regime. "There are some who think we ought to shoot him here before shipping him. Those against deporting him to Italy tell us to send him to Russia, where he wants to go. But we can't send him to Russia, because we have no diplomatic relations with Russia."

The summation of Secretary Doak's attitude in promoting this deportation drive is found in this remark: "If the people don't like our methods they ought to adopt registration. We're about the only country that hasn't it. Most of the European countries have. They ought to make all these people give us their thumb prints and hand prints when they come into the country and we'd keep records of them. Then we'd be sure where to find them and wouldn't have to raid dances."

The deportation drive is going on. No doubt about that. In the three weeks preceding the Finnish dance raid more than 500 aliens were rounded up in New York City. Ellis Island is crowded to capacity with persons awaiting deportation. And this is accomplished without an additional force of agents. "That's not unusual," Mr. Doak says. "They recently took in 104 in one afternoon. And of course the New York police are giving us fine cooperation." Mr. Doak has announced that he will add "dollar-a-year men" to his force if he hasn't funds enough to prosecute the drive. "There are plenty who would like to help."

The danger is that even though Mr. Doak expresses his intention to administer the deportation law "humanely and as a liberal-minded man," he and his agents, along with great sections of the populace, will be swept into the use of methods that are lawless in themselves. The Finnish dance raid is, as Senator Wagner indicates, an extremely disquieting omen. Popular disapproval of such methods is hard to arouse. A forthcoming report from the Wickersham Commission on the handling of deportation cases may prove germane to the issue. Anyone at all familiar with deportation cases knows that in many of them the foreigner (despite Mr. Doak's assertion that each case has to be prepared so thoroughly that it will stand a test in the courts) has slight chance for adequate protection. The law provides each deportee the right of counsel or friends at the original examination. But often in the rush of arrest and prosecution the alien never realizes that in the remarks hastily addressed to him by the immigration agents he is offered that right. Then, too, the foreigner is sometimes preyed upon by unscrupulous lawyers—"much worse than ambulance chasers," as Mr. Doak says.

For anyone who regards our treatment of aliens, whether illegally here or not, or whether reds or gangsters, as one test of our civilization it will be pertinent to study the development of the deportation drive now progressing under the aegis of the White House, and to use the Wickersham Commission expert's report as a guide to such study.

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President Hoover on the Depression

ON March 7, 1930, President Hoover gave out the following statement, which was printed generally by the newspapers of the country. It is here reprinted unchanged after the lapse of a year, as a document of interest to the American people in view of the weight that is properly given to any official utterance of the President. The entire statement deserves close examination, but the final conclusion is specially noteworthy after a year of continued depression.

The Departments of Commerce and Labor are engaged in the usual monthly survey of business and unemployment, and especially of the results obtained from the measures which have been in progress since the last of November to reduce unemployment and the hardship following the dislocation from the stock-exchange crash. The survey is not as yet complete.

There are, however, certain conclusions that are evident:

1. Unemployment amounting to distress is in the main concentrated in twelve States. The authorities in the remaining thirty-six States indicate only normal seasonal unemployment, or that the minor abnormal unemployment is being rapidly absorbed.

2. The low point of business and employment was the latter part of December and early January. Since that time employment has been slowly increasing, and the situation is much better today than at that time.

3. Nation-wide response to the request for increased construction and improvement work by public authorities, railroads, utilities, and industries is having a most material effect. Construction contracts in these categories in January and February were from 40 per cent to 45 per cent higher than ever known in these months. The total construction work for 1930 seems assured to be larger than even 1929.

4. The undertakings to maintain wages have been held.

5. The amount of unemployment is, in proportion to the number of workers, considerably less than one-half (probably only one-third) of that which resulted from the crashes of 1907-8 and 1920-22, at this period of the situation.

6. Measures taken to ameliorate interest rates have resulted in continuous decrease since December, and money is available at lower rates for business and commercial purposes. One result is, an increasing volume of bond issues have been placed for public improvements. Available money for mortgage purposes of home-building and agriculture has lagged behind other forms of credit. But a decrease in demands of policy-holders for loans on the insurance companies and the action recently taken by the Federal Reserve System should result in increased supplies of credit, especially for residential building, which in turn has lagged behind other construction.

7. All the evidences indicate that the worst effects of the crash upon unemployment will have been passed during the next sixty days, with the amelioration of seasonal unemployment, the gaining strength of other forces, and the continued cooperation of the many agencies actively cooperating with the government to restore business and to relieve distress.

In the Driftway

LIGHT verse in this country has never developed as it should have. Either it degenerates into sentimental doggerel which is very profitable—syndicates are paying fabulous sums weekly to professional rhymesters who, armed with a thesaurus and a poetic license, will do Mother in, no questions asked, in ten lines. Or it becomes serious-minded, calls itself poetry, and goes out to be used as filler in the "quality" magazines. Perhaps we are not at the exact stage in our civilization when good light verse is produced. Perhaps the philosophers have an explanation. Or can it be that we have not just the subjects we need?

* * * * *

OUR versifiers, for instance, have not, as England has, an Epstein and his works to motivate their pens. We have many a public statue guaranteed to raise the hair on any head. And the famous battle that raged around Civic Virtue is evidence that we are not indifferent to the monstrosities that somehow get foisted upon our innocent streets. But as the Drifter remembers it, that battle was fought out with more anger than humor, more prose than rhyme. And the fact remains that we have nothing quite like Epstein.

* * * * *

THE London populace does not like Epstein's works, neither the monument to W. H. Hudson, nor the decorations on the entrance to the Underground. The Drifter has unfortunately forgotten both name and location of the latest one, but that low groan you heard recently coming out of the east was London's greeting to the most recent Epstein contribution. And the light verse here appended, written by the perennial and always delightful Lucio for the *Manchester Guardian*, was probably motivated in part by the same event. The Drifter exhibits it both as a revealing comment on London and her sculptor, and as a model for any incipient light versifiers who may be hovering in the American offing. Its title, incidentally, would indicate that its author was not indifferent to the possibility of an American audience.

STEIN SONG

[With particular reference to reports that Relativity has been relegated to the second division of its author's affections, while the first place is now claimed by a revised theory called the "Unified Field."]

Two lads of noted power and pep
Were Albert Ein. and Jacob Ep.—
A pair of most distinguished Steins,
Pursuing widely famous lines.

But note, in spite of all their fame,
Those lines were not at all the same;
They were not, as a child could tell,
The sort described as parallel.

While Albert put a kink in space,
Jake uglified the human race;
While Ein. put Newton "on the spot,"
Ep. sculped the squalid and the squat.

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'Twas Albert whose prodigious hand
The Universe itself replanned;
While Jacob's no less artful paw
Produced a prehistoric squaw.

But, lo! by all accounts 'twould seem
That Albert has revised his scheme:
So is there not a modest hope
That Jacob might extend his scope?

If one of these distinguished Steins
Can shoot right off on novel lines,
Well, why should not the other try
Some newer sources of supply?

Why should not artful Ep. compete
With something fluffy and petite?
Some fragile and less bulging type,
With hands less like large sheets of tripe?

Be of good cheer—a change may come
To strike the whole of Chelsea dumb.
If Brother Ein. can change his step,
Well, what about it, Master Ep.?

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Insanity in Oregon

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mike Kulikoff, eighteen-year-old Portland schoolboy, was arrested on November 7, 1930, for radical activity. At the time of his arrest he was reading Lenin's "State and Revolution" and "Imperialism" at the Washington High School, where he went for gymnasium and music during the noon recess. He was then doing probationary high-school work as a student at Buckman Grammar School.

The boy was first taken to the local immigration office, which is now engrossed in wholesale deportation of alien Communists. Questioned for hours concerning his radical literature, he persistently refused to answer. Finally, when it was learned that he had been born in Russia and was ineligible for deportation, the boy was handcuffed and taken to the local police station several blocks away. District attorney and police captain here debated the advisability of preferring State criminal-syndicalism charges against the boy. Several citizen Communists have been arrested under this law. But obviously it would be difficult to obtain a conviction carrying a maximum penitentiary sentence of ten years against a schoolboy who had never been in trouble before. The boy was photographed, finger-printed, and locked in a cell overnight.

At noon the next day, November 8, 1930, Kulikoff was taken before a circuit-court judge, where a hearing was held on his sanity. There were present the judge, a physician, and Mike Kulikoff. No lawyer was there in the boy's behalf; there were no witnesses. An order of commitment was summarily signed by the judge—the words "cause of such insanity" therein were followed by a blank line. The boy was again handcuffed and then rushed to the insane asylum fifty miles away. For three days he was kept in bed and thereafter put to work pushing blocks to wax the hallway floors. Two weeks later he was transferred to the main building and placed in a ward with about fifty insane men, who became of necessity his daily associates.

Habeas corpus proceedings were instituted for the boy's release. The district attorney, in cross-examination, asked him what I. W. W. literature he had read, whether he "disagreed with the laws of this country in any respect," whether he "feels they are fair," whether they should be changed, and questioned him concerning Lenin's "Imperialism." The district attorney assured the judge that the examination "reflects the mental condition of this boy." Testimony of both prosecution and defense conclusively showed that the boy had never been in any trouble before, never committed any acts of force or violence, always regularly attended school, and lived at home. Nevertheless, the institution's superintendent and assistant physician testified that the boy was insane and that it was unsafe for him to be at large. The main symptoms of his insanity, they stated, were that he was mentally resistive, refused to cooperate, made false statements, had a tendency to run or walk fast, and refused to eat all food served him. They testified that such conduct indicated insanity, although the boy had been committed against his will and until then had spent all his life with orthodox Russian parents, which explains his refusal to eat the food served at the asylum.

Pending appeal of the case to the Oregon Supreme Court, there is a weekly traveler from Portland to the insane asylum. It is the boy's mother, a small middle-aged woman whose broken English is unintelligible. Four hard-boiled eggs, nearly a loaf of home-made rye bread, some apples, and a container of coffee are in the basket on her arm. Mike eats, mother departs, and the boy awaits the lapse of seven days for another square meal when she returns again.

Should the Oregon Supreme Court uphold the boy's confinement in the asylum it will establish a dangerous precedent for dealing with those who because of their youth are beyond the reach of ordinary anti-radical legislation.

Portland, Ore., March 1 IRVIN GOODMAN

Books of Interest to "Nation" Readers

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By THOMAS BURKE. The author discovers humor and irony in his beloved Chinese quarter of London—sixteen tales, lighter in touch but no less brilliant than his unforgettable "Limehouse Nights." $2.00

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Books, Films, Drama

Egrets

By MAX EASTMAN

How delicately they are wild,
On their proud wings how slender,
Or resting in the river mild,
Untamable yet tender.

And you, as delicate as they,
Seem like them in slim hauteur,
Seem gentle and yet far away
As wings upon wild water.

Give beauty when you give your heart,
Give tenderness a river,
Give love which is the giving art,
But give the wild will never.

Goethe and Dr. Johnson

Everybody's Boswell. Edited by F. V. Morley. Illustrated by Ernest H. Shepard. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.
Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann. Edited by J. K. Moorhead. Introduction by Havelock Ellis. Everyman's Library. E. P. Dutton and Company. 90 cents.

BY a pleasant coincidence these two great books, which tempt us from so many aspects to compare them with each other, now appear almost simultaneously in new although somewhat abridged editions. Paradoxically, though there can be no question that Goethe was a vastly greater man than Johnson, Boswell's volume remains more enthralling than Eckermann's. The result comes partly from the fact that Boswell is much the superior protraitist; his observation never misses the slightest minutia, and his candor is almost unparalleled. Boswell set down virtually everything; but one senses that Eckermann is often omitting or toning down any petty traits that may have appeared in Goethe; and as a result, though Goethe emerges as a nobler, a more Olympian figure than Johnson, he also emerges as a vaguer one. We never see his warts and wrinkles; what we get is a retouched photograph with a softened focus. Now there is a certain artistic justification for this procedure, as even a Fifth Avenue photographer could explain; for the camera that impartially photographs a blemish may make it seem more prominent than it really is; and the "psychographer," by the very act of mentioning a petty trait, selects it, and thereby inevitably emphasizes it. But in his ability to put in all the blemishes without this distortion, Boswell shows himself a Rembrandt, while Eckermann remains a mere Sir Thomas Lawrence.

Boswell, too, is a better dramatist, or perhaps it was merely that he had better opportunities. Virtually all the conversations Eckermann records are mere duologues between himself and Goethe, while Boswell is constantly showing his hero in company, which necessarily implies showing him in a wider variety of aspects and in more dramatic situations. Yet when Eckermann has these opportunities, he never takes full advantage of them. When Hegel comes to visit Goethe, for example, and Goethe banters him regarding dialectics, Eckermann gives what appears to be a mere summary of the conversation in only half a page. One could not imagine Boswell making so little of such a meeting. On another occasion, when the great philologist Wolf dines at Weimar, Eckermann merely records:

> The *bon mots* at table were too evanescent, and too much the result of the moment, to bear repetition. Wolf was very great in witty turns and repartees, but nevertheless it seemed to me that Goethe always maintained a certain superiority over him.

Knowing how worshipful the biographer's attitude is, the reader cannot help suspecting, when even the good Eckermann grants so slight a margin to his hero, that perhaps Goethe on this occasion got slightly the worse of the exchange. In any case we feel that Boswell would have told us everything brilliant that was said at such a meeting. Even Boswell, of course, is somewhat less than perfect in this respect. One wonders, at times, how impartially the repartee is recorded—when Johnson nearly always has the last word. And then there is the mysterious and almost exasperating omission of any real verbal exchange with Burke. "That fellow," Boswell reports Johnson as saying once when he was ill, "calls forth all my powers. Were I to see Burke now it would kill me." But we are never permitted to hear these two conversational Titans clash.

One further cause for the superiority of Boswell's book, again paradoxically enough, is the fact both that Johnson was a more limited man than Goethe and that Boswell was more of a fool than Eckermann. Boswell's questions, even before we get the doctor's answer, entertain us constantly for their sheer asininity; but though Eckermann's questions are sometimes naive, they are never absurd. Of course, in Boswell's asininity there was also a shrewdness amounting to genius: he knew that he must irritate his oyster to get pearls; or, rather, he was like a circus exhibitor who prods his lion so the public may hear him roar. Johnson, for the very reason that he was full of prejudices, biles, perversities, and eccentricities from which Goethe was free, put on a better show. He is not merely, like Goethe, a great literary man and sage; he is a great comic figure, comparable to Micawber and Falstaff. Goethe's judgments, both of great former writers and of his contemporaries, were nearly always remarkably just and sound. (We must except, of course, his amazing overestimation of Byron, whom he thought "the greatest genius of our century," ranking him in English literature second only to Shakespeare; while so far as any record in these "Conversations" goes, he was unaware even of the existence of Keats, Shelley, and Wordsworth.) Johnson's judgments, on the other hand, were often grotesque; but that does not make them any less interesting to us now. It is delightful to hear him saying, across a century and a half: "Nothing odd will do long. 'Tristram Shandy' did not last."

But one must give Johnson credit for his real superiorities. He was a greater aphorist than Goethe; perhaps the greatest spontaneous aphorist that ever lived. Goethe's general views were wiser and broader; but in conversation he fell short of Johnson's compactness and pungency. And if in Boswell's picture Johnson seems a creature subject to a thousand irritations, a great mammoth constantly swishing and stamping on gadflies, while in Eckermann's picture Goethe seems serene and godlike, one must remember the great differences both in the painters and in the condition of the sittings. For Eckermann's friendship with Goethe, even more than Boswell's with Johnson, was possible only because he was willing to accept a definite status of inferiority; he could seldom venture to speak to Goethe as to an equal. Only once, when the poor fellow, after the most patient and careful observation, and with the greatest reluctance, brought himself to speak to Goethe of a slight

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difference of opinion with him about his "Theory of Colors," "Goethe's sublimely serene countenance became clouded over, and I saw but too clearly that he did not approve of my objections." Without giving Eckermann an opportunity to elaborate his objections and reasons, Goethe "could not help, with a half-laugh and a half-sneer, throwing in my teeth at the very doorway something about heretics and heresy."

Though Goethe's self-estimate was very high, and though he never troubled to conceal it, it was certainly not higher than the present-day critical estimate of him—he rated himself definitely below Shakespeare, for example. But like so many great men, he had a curious way of priding himself on the wrong thing. "As for what I have done as a poet," he would repeatedly say to Eckermann, "I take no pride whatever in it. Excellent poets have lived at the same time with myself; poets more excellent have lived before me. But that in my century I am the only person who knows the truth in the difficult science of colors—of that, I say, I am not a little proud." But, alas, it is Goethe's theory of colors, based on majestic intuitions, that is now discredited, and the theories of the "stupid" Newtonians, based on experiment, that have triumphed. Yet Goethe confessed that he had spent "half a life" on his theory. And though much of his work in comparative anatomy was sound and useful, the fate of his study of colors throws a revealing light on the ideal of the "all-round," "universal," or "complete" mind, which still appeals so powerfully to us, and of which Goethe, with Leonardo da Vinci, stands as one of the two greatest exemplars. Goethe himself came to doubt the validity of that ideal. He constantly warned Eckermann not to enlarge prematurely the field of his interests. "I myself," he said one day, "have spent too much time on things that did not belong to my department. When I reflect what Lope de Vega accomplished, the number of my poetical productions seems very small. I should have kept more to my own trade."

HENRY HAZLITT

No Men Wanted

Unemployment: A Problem of Industry. By W. H. Beveridge. Longmans, Green and Company. $6.

IN 1909 William (now Sir William) H. Beveridge published his great book on unemployment. It is the foundation on which every student of the subject has built from that day to this. Twenty years have passed, years filled with a rich but bitter experience on the part of Western countries in dealing with unemployment. During those years Beveridge has served as Director of Labor Exchanges for Great Britain, in various capacities in the Ministry of Munitions, the Board of Trade, and the Ministry of Food, as Director of the London School of Economics, and in other important positions both public and private. Out of his unrivaled experience and knowledge of fact, combined with his sound theoretical judgment and unfailing common sense, he has now added to the original work, which happily is reprinted unchanged as Part I of the present volume, a second part, substantially a new book, bringing the statement of facts and the theoretical analysis down to date. The work of 1909 stood in a class by itself; that of 1930, one is tempted to say, is worth all the other books on unemployment ever written. A veritable cyclopedia of all the relevant facts, an extraordinary piece of economic exposition, and a model of sound theory, it contains in addition passages of great literary beauty.

The new features of the British situation since the war have been the development of permanent unemployment on an unexampled scale—a jump from an average of some 4.5 per cent during 1860-1914 to about 12 per cent in 1921-29—and the substitution for unemployment insurance of unemployment relief (the dole), which is not insurance at all. The insurance experiment was inaugurated in 1911 in connection with the nation-wide system of labor exchanges established in 1909. It got into operation smoothly, and by August, 1914, had accumulated a tidy little surplus of £3,185,000. The war overburdened the exchanges and ultimately wrecked the insurance scheme. The calamitous post-war unemployment led in 1921 to the invention of "extended benefit," that is, benefit given those who had exhausted the regular insurance rights, but from the same fund and at the same rates. Relief was thus grafted on insurance, and promptly proceeded to swallow it up. Now there is essentially "a system of general unemployment relief financed mainly by a tax on employment." Yet both labor exchanges and insurance have proved themselves indispensable, and nobody in England wants to go back to the old system of haphazard provision, or none at all except poor relief, for men out of work. Furthermore, the present scheme, for all its faults, has enabled Britain's workers to live through an unparalleled depression without a fatal lowering of their living standards. In so doing, it may well have helped prevent revolution. As for the oft-repeated charges that it has demoralized the population by enabling men to live in idleness when they could get work, Beveridge flatly dismisses them as "idle and irresponsible talk."

What, then, are the real criticisms of the scheme, the points at which correction must be applied? First and fundamentally, the hopeless confusion of insurance and relief. Insurance can and ought to take care of the ordinary ups and downs of employment; but "a state which undertakes to relieve adequately and indefinitely from a bottomless purse all the unemployed will soon find itself subsidizing the manufacture of unemployment, unless it adopts counter-measures." Such counter-measures Beveridge points out. Second may be mentioned the lack of any relation between payments and benefits. Employers are given no financial incentive to stabilize employment. The eight top industries (from the point of view of stability) in 1929, with 1,305,000 workers, drew out only the same amount as "dock, harbor, river, and canal service" alone, with 171,000 workers, though they paid in ten times as much. The other industries simply subsidized unemployment on the docks. There is grave danger of "demoralizing government, employers, and trade unions so that they take less thought for the prevention of unemployment." Coal miners, for example, ought to be moved out of the dying coal industry; it is easier to pay them relief and let them stay where they are. Most interesting of all theoretically, Beveridge concludes that the operation of unemployment relief and other agencies maintaining and advancing real wages has kept up standards of living to a level higher than that warranted by the existing state of British industry, and that a part of the existing unemployment is due to wages too high for productivity. This is a hard saying for advocates of current high-wage doctrines, but it is supported by a body of evidence making it hard to controvert Beveridge's deduction that wages must come down or else productivity must go up. After all, the economists are not always wrong.

Unemployment remains, as Beveridge declared twenty years ago, a problem of industry, not an act of God. Now, as then, the primary essential in dealing with it is the organization of the labor market, and beyond that, of industry itself. In such organization, insurance can play a useful part in tiding workers over temporary periods of unemployment and making for greater rather than less mobility of labor. Neither insurance nor any other device can be used without disaster to provide adequate relief for permanent unemployment; such unemployment must be done away with. But as Beveridge pointed out two decades ago, "it is not practicable for a nation

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to get a mastery of unemployment without being prepared to submit to some changes of industrial methods and customs. . . . It needs not money so much as thought and organization." He concludes today:

> The repeated lesson of twenty-one years since those words were penned is how much more abundant is money than thought, how much harder it is, for the cure of social ills, to change men's habits and open their minds than to slit their purses—how much harder and how much more important.

For such an opening of men's minds nothing could be more useful than a thoughtful perusal of this extraordinary book.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

A Study of Genius

Savage Messiah. By H. S. Ede. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THIS book is really a study of genius; one seldom reads so intimate an account of the emotional intensity which, when genius is there, functions only for the furthering of that genius. The volume is made up very largely of the letters and diaries of two amazing lovers—Henri Gaudier, the eighteen-year-old French sculptor, and Sophie Brzeska, a thirty-eight-year-old Polish woman possessed of acute sensitivity and a disorganized but sporadically brilliant mind. These two met in Paris when both were very ill and very poor, and they fell in love. They remained in love passionately, ascetically, stimulating and frustrating each other for five years, until Gaudier was forced to return from London to serve in the French army at the beginning of the war. He was killed and Miss Brzeska lived seven long years in a kind of self-accusing madness before she died. It is one of the most curious love stories in literature, and H. S. Ede, the author and editor, does well to use his own narrative merely as a medium for linking together the letters and the diaries of these two very articulate and excessively literary minds. The letters are for the most part Gaudier's; the diaries are Sophie Brzeska's. These she was psychologically compelled to write, and at great length, although she could never organize her life well enough to find time to compose her "Trilogy," the long novel which both she and her young lover believed would prove, even as have his statues, the work of genius.

Mr. Ede has given us only notes from and summaries of the diaries rather than the original texts. His interest is quite naturally in Gaudier, and his emphasis is probably right. We may feel curious concerning the diaries and note that the book as it now stands presents a very much more complete portrait of Gaudier and of his genius than of Miss Brzeska, but we must also grant that her mind is not so interesting as that of the young sculptor, that she possessed no such power and certainty of direction as he did.

Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, as he called himself from the time of their union, was perhaps the most brilliant member of that curiously intense pre-war group of literary and artistic men living in London. Here he had fled to escape military duty and here he remained, very slowly making friends, until the war snatched him away. He had some tendencies toward the Messianic complex which motivated a number of these artists, notably of course D. H. Lawrence. This fact accounts for the title of the book. He wore, as did several of his acquaintances, the Christlike beard, and he had always an implicit faith in his own prophecies. When any thwarting of his genius was threatened he could be excessively cruel; at other times he had a kind of divine and self-sacrificing gentleness. After the horribly poverty-stricken and lonely years, when he came at last to know others of the pre-war group—Katherine Mansfield, J. Middleton Murry, Epstein, and, as one of his best friends, Ezra Pound—he insisted on bringing Sophie along with him into every friendship. She did not always please; once with her morbid and intense asceticism she frightened Katherine Mansfield into an illness. Only a few of Gaudier's friends could appreciate Brzeska's sacrifices for "her son."

Aside from the fascination of so intimate an account of such minds and of such a group of people, the present book has the greater value of affording a direct study of the workings of the creative imagination. We see Gaudier maturing gradually as an artist, we know his influences, his reactions to various pieces of sculpturing and painting. We see his absorption in his own problems and learn of his solutions for them. We learn of his violent reactions to conventional dogma concerning art:

> *The Victory is beautiful, not because its silhouette is* abominably weak and monotonous, but because the masses of which it is composed have sufficient truth in their disposition to give the sensations of many rhythms: life, movement, wind, water, which are pleasing to the eye.

We watch him frantically modeling, while his nose streams blood in one of his frequent hemorrhages, stopping only to dash to a window to observe a dog fight. The dominating, sometimes seemingly half-mad purpose which controlled all he did is in sharp contrast to the dawdling indirection of Miss Brzeska's lesser mind.

When he was twenty-three he went into the trenches and there, quite undaunted, he continued carving—from the wood of German rifles. He was fascinated by the fighting and found he had models here entirely to his liking. But when he was killed, these last pieces of his, which would today be the collector's greatest joy, were thrown away and lost.

EDA LOU WALTON

Graves and Aldington Again

But It Still Goes On. By Robert Graves. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $3.

Roads to Glory. By Richard Aldington. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

MOST certainly two poets, Richard Aldington and Robert Graves, have turned tables on the Great War. They themselves would have been the last to dream of any possible advantage gained through four years of what seemed to them blind disaster. Neither was a professional writer in a commercial sense. Up to a little more than a year ago poetry had been their chosen means of expression, but upon the publication of "Good Bye to All That" and "Death of a Hero" the situation changed. Overnight their names were known to a public that had never heard of "Georgian Poetry" or the imagist anthologies. As a corollary to popular success, and possibly because "Good Bye to All That" and "Death of a Hero" are largely autobiographical, these poets are offering their public something in the way of a postscript.

Since Robert Graves evidently enjoys a controversy, it would be well to take him up at once. I, for one, am ready to dismiss Mr. Graves's explanation of the success of "Good Bye to All That" as a piece of cocksure self-rationalization. In the opening section of his new volume (which is, by the way, a miscellany of almost every possible form of writing except poetry and including a three-act play) Mr. Graves says: "That 'Good Bye to All That' is selling well does not surprise me, because I have been able to put into the book all the frank answers to all the inquisitive questions that people like to ask about other people's lives." He goes on to explain how he mentioned food and drink and murders to catch public attention. This is all very well, but I suspect Mr. Graves's

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frankness. He has a bad habit of shouting that he's an honest fellow and looking straight at you with a hard-boiled, disillusioned eye. I am naive enough to believe that Mr. Graves's assertions concerning his behavior, interesting as they may be, are superficial and that "Good Bye to All That" is successful because Mr. Graves had a great deal to say about his personal reaction to the war, and I believe that he felt, for the moment, that he was telling the truth. In other words, quite without deliberation he had learned the trick of exploiting his personality. His conception of himself is that of a young man who has seen everything and, now that the war is over, knows everything. Mr. Graves would have you believe that he is somewhat dangerous and knows how to take revenge upon those who offend him. Among his footnotes to the present volume he offers us a vague outline of his quarrel with his father, Alfred Percival Graves. The elder Graves has written his own autobiography in which he used a few letters that he had received from son Robert. Robert speaks of this action on the part of his father as an infringement of copyright but does not complain because he himself on occasion has played the pirate. Mr. Graves is again making a fine show of frankness in which he tells us very little. In the play from which this Graves miscellany takes its title I discern a rough, schoolboyish caricature of the elder Graves as the villain of the piece. The hero, again a frank, unashamed young man, plays practical jokes upon his father, a mild, mid-Victorian man of letters and, of course, the evil genius of the play, which deals with problems of post-war homosexuality.

The father, jealous of his son's reputation as a poet and his ability to handle girls, inadvertently marries a frigid woman. The play closes with the death of two homosexual characters, the suicide of the father, and an attractive girl walking into the arms of the outspoken young hero. The entire play seems as if it were written as part of the little-theater movement that rose to a fine frenzy of amateur barnstorming some fifteen years ago in our own Middle West. Mr. Graves has a way of making his family quarrels momentarily entertaining but not of the least importance. As a commentary upon war in general (and this seems to bear some relationship to his personal quarrels) Mr. Graves believes that fighting in man is as ineradicable an instinct as love, and that the human desire for war could be made less harmful by a code that would embody all that is best in savage, medieval, and early modern warfare and in modern sport. This belief, I think, shows us that Mr. Graves is by no means so hard-boiled and disillusioned as the self-portrait that he offers for our inspection. He has, however, found a means by which he can attract a wide public, and if he were so inclined he could take advantage of his newly discovered talents by conducting a column of personal gossip in a daily newspaper.

Richard Aldington's collection of short stories in "Roads to Glory" is by no means so important as his semi-autobiographical novel "Death of a Hero," but it shows the general direction that his creative ability has taken. He has discovered the art of writing attractive fiction. Any one of the thirteen stories contained in this volume could have aroused the interest of an editor in charge of a magazine with a public of more than a million readers. Like Mr. Graves, Richard Aldington is at his best in disclosing the character of a specific personality—the sensitive young Englishman of the professional class, usually an artist, confronted with the horrors of modern warfare. Mr. Aldington invariably uses his protagonist as a mouthpiece for anti-war propaganda. Here we see him in various disguises, but most vividly as the young musician in A Bundle of Letters. The young man, an officer, is temperamentally unfit for active trench warfare; the story of his failure to be removed from his post to a position behind the lines is given us very skilfully through the correspondence of the characters

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involved—the young man's mother, two commanding officers, and the young man himself. Unlike Mr. Graves, Richard Aldington is never aggressive; there are times when he lacks conviction and the power to drive home the central theme of his arguments. Despite a tendency to abuse his narrative gifts by a frequent use of poetic charm in his prose style, his work is seldom ineffective and, as I have already suggested, shows promise of popular success. HORACE GREGORY

Our Vanishing Liberties

This Land of Liberty. By Ernest Sutherland Bates. Harper and Brothers. $3.

What Rights Are Left? By Henry Alan Johnston. The Macmillan Company. $2.

AMERICAN liberty is a strange animal. Here are two different views of it that leave the average conscientious reader confused as to whether liberty still lives in this country. According to Mr. Bates, it has been rather effectively done to death by mob justice and by the justice of our law courts. Mr. Johnston, dealing solely with prohibition, finds that personal or human rights still find some protection in the courts, but the citizen must know something of the esoteric ways of lawyers and judges in order to enjoy fully the so-called inalienable rights guaranteed him by the Constitution. An ignorant citizen, he suggests, will often unwittingly sacrifice this protection.

Mr. Bates has on the whole done a brilliant service for the cause of freedom. He has demonstrated in clear and concise fashion the various ways in which the average American has been deprived of liberty of action and liberty of thought. He cites case after case in support of his contention, his exposition ranging all the way from a discussion of the Sedition Act of 1798 and the manner in which it violated the First Amendment to lengthy and able comments upon the San Diego mobs, the Mooney and Billings case, the Centralia case, the Barcoski case, the Sacco and Vanzetti tragedy, the Gastonia trials, the third-degree methods of the police, prohibition, and imperialism. His work omits very little that has an important or concrete bearing upon the decline of individual liberty and human rights in the United States.

Despite the excellence of Mr. Bates's work one feels rather discouraged after reading it, not because of the book itself, but because there appears to be no way, without violating their own personal rights, of compelling the hundreds of thousands of legislators, police officers, school trustees, judges, and other petty members of the organized state to read it, and it is to these persons, rather than to the liberals and radicals, that the book should be addressed. MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

Books in Brief

I'd Like to Do It Again. By Owen Davis. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

Mr. Davis, who as everyone knows is the author of 300 plays, most of which are melodramas, reveals in this entertaining if chaotic autobiography how nature simply made him that way. Life outside of the theater has always been intolerable to him; he thinks, drinks, and breathes plots; he is a born playwright if there ever was one. His story, whatever one may think of his plays, is impressive; and his understanding of the dramatist's art is really very sound. Any young playwright would do well to read the twelve rules which Mr. Davis has here written down for him.

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Selected Essays of William Hazlitt. Edited by Geoffrey Keynes. Random House. $3.50.

This centenary edition of Hazlitt's selected essays is uniform with the single-volume Nonesuch editions of Blake and Donne, which means that the printing and binding are wholly admirable. It contains more than 800 pages of Hazlitt's vigorous prose, selected with a fresh eye and a sure taste. In his able introduction Mr. Keynes reminds us that not since Alexander Ireland's selection in 1889 has the attempt been made to cover so large a field in one volume as in the present edition, though the range of Hazlitt's intellectual attainments is so wide that it would not be possible to do it justice in a volume of smaller compass.

The Quest for Literature. By Joseph T. Shipley. Richard R. Smith. $3.50.

Dr. Shipley's book seems to be the product of diligence rather than thoughtfulness and of wide rather than careful reading. It discusses the nature of criticism, traces the history of critical theory, and comments upon the various literary forms. The quotations from many authorities, the references to countless others, the elaborate notes, and the long bibliography bear witness to the author's labors, but neither they nor the rather pompous style conceal the essential emptiness of the book.

Life and Literature in the Roman Republic. By Tenney Frank. University of California Press. $3.50.

The high points of Professor Frank's subject matter are of course Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Livy, Cicero, and Lucretius. But in this case, Professor Frank being what he is, we have something more than a recital of literary glories. We have that too, and in a language more suitable to present critical needs than was the language of J. W. Mackail in his "Latin Literature"; but we have in addition an account—the fullest available—of the society in which and for which the literature under examination was produced. Professor Frank does not push his sociology too far; he does not pretend entirely to "explain" Lucretius, for instance; but by showing how these authors responded to their environment no less than to the challenge of their Greek models he emphasizes their originality.

White Nights. By Jessie Lemont. Portland, Maine: The Mosher Press. $2.

Jessie Lemont, whose translations of the poems of Rainer Maria Rilke were so skilfully done as to seem hardly translations at all, has in this volume given us a group of her own personal lyrics as well as a few new and very beautiful translations from Rilke. Miss Lemont has in her own verse been influenced in her choice of subjects by an acute sensitivity to the other arts. Some of the best poems are those describing paintings and sculpture. The lyrics are impersonal; the poet's language is rich with images, and her emotion is conveyed largely through the visual impression. One of the loveliest of the poems, Diana Remembers Actaeon, has in it something of the motion in repose of sculpture itself.

Unemployment Benefits in the United States. By Bryce M. Stewart in Collaboration with Jeanne C. Barber, Mary W. Gilson, and Margaret L. Stecker. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors. $7.50.

That excellent research organization, Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., has been making a world-wide study of provisions against unemployment. This first volume of a projected series is a study of all the known unemployment-benefit plans in the United States, including trade-union, company, and joint schemes. Such plans in 1928-29 covered only about 107,000 workers, so the importance of the movement consists not in

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its extent but in the lessons that can be derived from it. In the present work three valuable introductory chapters sketching the whole development of American thought and practice in reference to unemployment are followed by five others giving an analysis and summary of the methods and results of all the plans in operation. In addition there are nearly five hundred pages giving each plan in detail, with abundant statistical and tabular material. The work is admirable in both plan and execution. It is to be followed by corresponding studies of the chief European governmental schemes of unemployment insurance, in connection with which it should contribute materially, as Mr. Stewart hopes, "to careful planning and sound practice in this field."

Gardener of Evil. By Pierre Loving. Brewer and Warren. $2.50.

Had Mr. Loving wholly relied in this biography of Baudelaire on his very considerable knowledge of the poet and his times, "Gardener of Evil" would have been a useful and important work. But he unfortunately succumbed to the lure of novelizing his material. As a novelist Mr. Loving is conventional and not impressive. He has, certainly, the insight of a sensitive and intelligent writer, an insight entirely sufficient for a biographer dealing with facts. But for the novelist attempting nothing less than the creation of the great and difficult figure of Baudelaire, it is not sufficient. It does not support the claim to omniscience which Mr. Loving as a novelist makes and which as a "pure" biographer he would not have had to make. Within itself the book is plausible in explaining Baudelaire, but its terms are current psychological folklore and the better clichés of modern novel-writing, and they explain Baudelaire so facilely that he is explained away.

Films

Nature and Artifice

THE time is probably not far off when television tours will be conducted through the most inaccessible parts of the world, and we shall be watching the life of the jungle, the desert, and the deep sea as today with the help of newspapers we watch the happenings in the capitals of Europe. It is possible that we shall become so familiar with that life that we shall not even bother to watch it. Be that as it may, and in spite of the numerous films that have already familiarized us with the habits and doings of the wild denizens of Asia and Africa, there are few sights today so capable of sending a thrill up our spine as the spectacle of a lion or a tiger attacking its prey or engaging in mortal combat with some other powerful fighter. For that matter, jungle comedy is hardly less fascinating than jungle drama, particularly when it is provided by those star comedians of the animal world, the apes and monkeys.

Mr. Schoedsack's "Rango" (Rivoli), the latest contribution to the subject of jungle life, maintains a happy balance of comedy and drama, and succeeds so well, with such directness and intimacy, in capturing the fun, the terror, and the pervading watchful atmosphere of the jungle that it must unhesitatingly be classed with the very best of its kind. It is true that it has not the sweep and action that distinguished its more ambitious predecessor "Chang" (made by the same Mr. Schoedsack in cooperation with Mr. Cooper), but it is superior to the earlier picture in conveying the sense of lurking danger that makes the jungle itself into a living thing. The film shows up equally well in comparison with "Trader Horn." Though

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lacking the variety of the latter, it reveals a greater unity of mood and theme, and moreover gains immeasurably in its power of appeal by confining itself strictly to the facts of nature, instead of encumbering itself, as "Trader Horn" does, with an inept love story.

It is the same fidelity to fact, the same documentary value of a record, that to me, in my ignorance of German, seems to be the most important feature of the German war film "Comrades of 1918" (Cameo). Scenes of actual fighting have perhaps been somewhat overdone on the screen, but in this film they still succeed in making one shudder at the horror of the whole ghastly business. One realizes, however, that the effect is achieved not so much by a few supremely revealing images, like those unforgettable scenes in "The End of St. Petersburg" or "The Fragments of an Empire," as by the cruder method of piling up the purely physical horrors of ceaseless bombardment and brutal fighting. The story itself appears to be convincing enough, though in spite of Director Pabst's preoccupation with psychoanalysis it does not strike one as a very subtle or profound study of human behavior.

Once again the primary material of the film—the facts of life—proves to be the only relieving feature in an otherwise banal and juvenile picture, "The Easiest Way" (Capitol). The struggle of a poor but of course beautiful girl in trying to escape from the position of a kept woman and marry the man she loves is just regular Hollywood piffle; but the opening scenes, showing the family life in a tenement house, deserve praise for incisiveness and color.

No considerations of fidelity to life can enter into the discussion of the screen opera "Pagliacci" (Central Park). Here, by the very nature of the genre, everything is frank artifice, and from start to finish the characters and the action remain entirely conventional. The main question in a production of this kind is the quality of the music and singing. In the present instance all that need be said is that the reproduction of voices is only moderately successful. As a first experiment the film is important. But a really satisfying screen opera is still in the limbo of the future.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

Drama

The Road Not Taken

IN a season which latterly has been very lean there was at least the hope that Mr. Milne's new play, produced eight years ago in London as "Success," would be free from clumsiness and manifest untruth. Here was an experienced playwright, and though he might have little to say he might reasonably be expected to say it with a certain grace. Whatever he could not do he would not try to do; whatever he did not know he would conceal beneath a disciplined dialogue. Then the play came with its new title—"Give Me Yesterday" (Charles Hopkins Theater)—and Mr. Milne passed by. He also, of all men, was clumsy.

"Give Me Yesterday" showed signs of being successful with its first audience, and perhaps it will continue to succeed. If it is true, as I suppose it is, that every person has made at least one decision which he now sometimes regrets, and has come to a place where he can turn and cast a glance—it should be a wistful one—at the road not taken, then Mr. Milne has an audience potentially as vast as the human universe. And if this audience does not care how the thing is said for them, then "Give Me Yesterday" should run forever. If it does care, however, it should have something to say

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Sigrid Onegin, contralto, Town Hall, Sun. aft., Mar. 15.
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German Grand Opera Company, Mecca Auditorium, week of March 16: Mon., "Tristan und Isolde"; Tues. aft., "Das Rheingold", eve., "Der Fliegende Holländer"; Wed., "Die Walküre"; Thurs., d'Albert's "Tiefland"; Fri., "Siegfried"; Sat. aft., Mozart's "Don Giovanni," eve., "Die Götterdämmerung."
Beethoven Association, Town Hall, Mon. eve., March 16 (Quatre Poèmes by Loeffler, for voice, viola and piano).
New York String Quartet, New School for Social Research, Tues. eve., March 17.
Little Theatre Opera Company, Brooklyn Little Theatre, Smetana's "The Bartered Bride," week of March 18.
Yehudi Menuhin, violinist, Carnegie Hall, Fri. eve., March 20.
Paul Robeson, baritone, Carnegie Hall, Sun. eve., March 22.

Lectures and Discussions

Making People Moral By Law, Arthur Garfield Hays, Tues., Mar. 17, at the Auditorium, 150 W. 85 St.
The Origin of Woman's Superiority, Samuel Chugerman, Sat., Mar. 14, Edison Hotel, 228 W. 47 St.
Unemployment, by Paul Douglas, Mon., Mar. 16 and Wed., Mar. 18. The New School for Social Research, 66 W. 12 St.

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about Mr. Milne's second act, which I took as an outrage upon all my finer feelings.

Mr. Milne obviously wanted to be gentle with those feelings, even while he aimed directly at them. He tried his lightest touch. But somehow it was not light. Consider the situation. A member of the British Cabinet once loved a girl named Sally. But he was ambitious for a career, so he left her for London, a rich wife, and politics. The play opens with him at the height of his career, a gentleman in Cavendish Square who has quite forgotten his yesterdays. An old friend happens in, however, and reminds him; he departs for the scene of those good old days; he arrives, finds Sally, and is tempted to resume his love; yet in the end we see him once more in Cavendish Square, unable to resist the lure of a chancellorship. That is a good story, and the beginning and end of it are in Mr. Milne's best manner; they are adroitly written, and they are quite convincing. It is the interlude with Sally that I found appalling. For what does the politician do, finding himself in Sally's house up there in Yorkshire, except lie down and dream a dream which has no relation either to the first act or to the third, but reminds us of "When We Were Very Young," "Peter Pan," and all that has ever been perpetrated in London under the name of Pantomime? The other acts are performed with an especial skill; this bumps along like a home theatrical with Junior in the leading role, and inevitably so, since it is written out of the childish part of Mr. Milne's mind. The trees in the dream are just full of christopher-robins.

These delicate fellows like Mr. Milne are so often like that—gross in their treatment of "the finer things." They insult our imaginations. We should so much prefer to dream our own dreams. Therefore, after recommending the first and third acts of "Give Me Yesterday," I recommend that the second act be endured with the eyes closed. Louis Calhern as the M. P. and Sylvia Field as Sally perform their parts as perfectly as may be; so do Gladys Hanson, the M. P.'s terrible wife, and Eric Blore, the prime minister's secretary.

"A Woman Denied," adapted by Jean Bart from the Italian of Gennaro Mario Curci (Ritz Theater), is a dolorous melodrama about a painter who suffers in his mind from the fact that his inspiration comes too wholly from his model. The battle between the temperaments of these two is fought to the accompaniment of much intrigue by way of seduction, and the conclusion, which involves the strangling of the model, is as loud and lurid as a barrage. Mary Nash rather needlessly overemphasizes the viciousness of the model; McKay Morris does better as the painter. Indeed, his present performance, taken in conjunction with his recent one as Aaron Burr in "Colonel Satan," speaks very well for an actor who seems to possess an extraordinary energy in romantic parts, and who certainly should play Shakespeare more often than he does. One hopes, however, that he will master his mannerisms.

"Greater Love," by Bruce Spaulding and Anthony Baird (Liberty Theater), is a play which asks us to break our hearts over the devotion of a sister (Mary Hay) to her brother (Douglas Gillmore). It is not Miss Hay's fault that we decline to do so; it is the fault rather of a play which tries to accomplish too many climaxes in two hours. The heart is a stubborn thing. It must break at its own pace or never break at all.

MARK VAN DOREN

"Privilege Car" (Forty-eighth Street Theater), rather accurately described on the program as "a melodramatic comedy," concerns the goings-on in a circus troupe composed of dope fiends, adulterers, stool-pigeons, shoplifters, forgers, rapers, a murderer or two, and a hero and heroine who are pure as the driven snow. Though filled with stock types, it is rapidly paced and so crowded with sensation and event that it holds the interest by main force.

H. H.

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The Cuban Dictatorship

By MALWON KAUFMAN

THE abrogation of constitutional rights for an indefinite period in Cuba by President Machado, under a decree dated February 7, has received scant attention in the American press. Thus far, Machado's ability to keep the Cuban army in a complacent frame of mind has succeeded to some extent in allaying anxiety over America's investment of more than a billion and a half dollars in the island. General Machado was elected president of the Republic of Cuba in 1924 on a liberal platform of "water, roads, and schools." In addition to the pledges of this platform, he solemnly promised that he would incur no foreign indebtedness, lest it damage the integrity of the national sovereignty, and that he would oppose the Platt Amendment. He also pledged himself not to run for reelection, since every presidential reelection during the brief history of the republic has precipitated a revolution, in one case resulting in American intervention.

President Machado's record in the face of these pledges is as follows: A year prior to the expiration of his term, through his absolute control of a constitutional convention summoned for the purpose, he had the term of office of the president extended to six years and his reelection prohibited. But under a special provision he himself as the ruling president was empowered to run for a second term. Controlling the polls and the electoral college completely, President Machado succeeded in gaining a second term, which will not expire until 1935. In the matter of foreign debts, he has contracted loans in Wall Street in a total approaching $150,000,000, the total foreign debt today, according to Dr. Max Winkler, standing at $180,000,000. The Carretera Central, a highway which runs from San Antonio, at the western tip of the island, to Santiago de Cuba, at the other end, was undertaken at a cost of $75,680,000. More than $100,000,000 has already been spent on the project, which is still incomplete, and there are portions of the road, particularly in the province of Santa Clara, which have already broken down. Enormous increases in public taxes, suspension of constitutional guaranties—including the right of habeas corpus—the enforced closing of newspaper plants, and the incarceration of hundreds of members of the opposition are all developments of the Machado regime.

The first two years of Machado's government were perhaps the most promising years of Cuba's history, notwithstanding the reports that his trips to the United States were for the purpose of securing American loans, and the appearance before long of ample evidence that money had been obtained from Wall Street. In this way the republic was mortgaged to carry out a plan of public works which in view of the economic limitations of Cuba should have been accomplished not in four or five years, but in forty years. To cover the interest on the loans, import duties were increased and a tax of ten cents was placed on every gallon of gasoline.

In addition to the $100,000,000 roadway across the island, another $20,000,000 was spent in the completion of the national capitol. The existing edifice, partially built in the epoch of Menocal, was entirely demolished to make room for another with different specifications. This magnificent palace is so grand and costly, incidentally, that it is kept closed even during the congressional session because the government cannot afford to pay for its maintenance.

The President's maneuvers to secure a reelection began early. To prevent emergence of any other candidates he formed a coalition with the presidents and leaders of the three existing parties—Conservative, Liberal, and Popular—including Dr. Clemente Vasquez Bello, president of the Senate. This bloc was not difficult to form, as none of the political groups had any definite platform. The coalition, which became known as Cooperativism, announced that if the nation was to be saved from the economic crisis which was approaching, the ruling government must not be hampered by inter-party bickering.

A convention was called in Havana on May 9, 1928, to revise several articles of the constitution. Dr. Antonio Sánchez de Bustamante, member of the International Court of Justice of the Hague, who presided, subsequently declared in the press that the members of the convention had exceeded their functions. As stated in a previous paragraph, the reform established a presidential term of six years, with the president ineligible for reelection. The office of vice-president was abolished, succession devolving upon the secretary of state in case of the president's death or disability. The terms of congressmen were increased to six and nine years, and those of governors of provinces, mayors, and councilmen were also lengthened. President Machado was then reelected unopposed, and his second term, from 1929 to 1935, was inaugurated with a sumptuousness unique in the annals of Latin America. Some thirty-seven nations sent special ambassadors, and the ceremony, taking place in the new capitol, cost about half a million dollars.

Assured of power for another six years, the government saw no reason any longer to keep up appearances. It was soon discovered that the firm known as Mestre y Machado, as early as May, 1925, had received contracts for all food and supplies destined for hospitals, penitentiaries, the army and navy, and all dependencies of the state. Such monopolistic contracts, needless to say, are highly profitable. The same firm also has a monopoly on flour and bread, and has ruined numerous bakery companies. There are even rumors of a proposal to give the corporation a monopoly on newsprint.

The proximity of partial elections in 1930 brought forth a wave of protest. The Nationalist Party, animated by politicians of the opposition, who are the most important foes of the administration, attempted a meeting in Pinar del Rio on May 18, 1930, but it was broken up by the police with serious casualties. Another group, the Brotherhood of Cuban Youth, organized the college students and succeeded in getting expressions from Menocal and Zayas, both ex-presidents, and from former vice-presidents, declaring that they were opposed to the holding of elections because internal peace would be seriously threatened. The majority of the

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candidates, aside from those already in office, were relatives of President Machado and of Dr. Clemente Vasquez Bello, president of the Liberal Party. In fact, the election was such a family affair that *El Pais* published the names of the nominees eight months before the elections.

On September 30 last the students of the National University were to hold a meeting of protest. The night before, however, the dean sent word to President Machado, who ordered troops to the campus and hid a corps of artillery in the Chrysanthemum Garden. When the students found they could not meet at the university they tried to gather at the foot of a nearby hill. The army did not attack them, but the police fired off their guns, accidentally killing the vice-president of the alumni association and wounding a number of students.

Street disorders occurred frequently thereafter in spite of strict police supervision. A student manifesto was published in one of the opposition newspapers, *El Pais,* and a second one was drawn up by the Brotherhood of Cuban Youth. Menocal sought to bring about some kind of conciliation, but Machado remained unbending. On the very eve of elections the government was petitioned to suspend them, but the petition went unheeded. No more than 30 per cent of the citizens, according to competent private advices, appeared at the polls, though the communication of Ambassador Guggenheim to the American government placed the proportion at 90 per cent. The character of the election has already been sufficiently indicated.

A student strike followed in all high schools, normal schools, schools of commerce, and the university. Photographs of street disorders taken by reporters started censorship of all newspapers. The latter immediately protested by shutting down their presses for a period of over two weeks. On November 14, after an agitated night during which ex-President Zayas and the Mayor of Havana had been hailed as defenders of liberty, the republic found itself deprived of its constitutional guaranties for twenty days. Toward the close of this period the Student Council and the Brotherhood prepared a manifesto requesting the President to resign from office. The manifesto created a sensation. Aristocratic societies, labor unions, cultural and professional organizations—everybody backed up the petition, crowding the streets with mobs of demonstrators. Thereupon the President secured the passage of another law suspending the constitutional guaranties for sixty days.

On December 24 the government discovered an alleged plot. This discovery served as occasion for the detention of all unfriendly elements, the closing up of all newspapers, and the renewal of persecution in all forms. Student Council members of both the university and the high schools were imprisoned, the Brotherhood suffered the same fate, and a large number of patriots were compelled to flee from the country. Colonel Aurelio Hevia, who is accused of being the arch-conspirator, is imprisoned in the Cabaña fortress, and it is estimated that the number of persons detained for political reasons is about 800. Provoked by a one-day strike of workers in tobacco and cigarette factories, fishermen, bakers, milkmen, and printers, Machado during January secured the passage of another law permitting him to suspend all rights for an indefinite period whenever he chose. He took such action on February 7.

Throughout the island students have voiced their opposition to the Machado regime, sometimes descending to acts of vandalism. In some places they have organized parades and swooped down on public squares to demolish statues of Machado and others whom they oppose. They have repeatedly drawn the fire of the police, who on one occasion accidentally killed the sister-in-law of a powerful newspaper editor, and on another fatally wounded an American citizen.

There are other real forces that may develop into worthy opponents of the Machado administration. The manifesto requesting the President to resign revealed the fact that vast numbers of people are revolted by the tactics of a man who is molding their republic into a monument of his own dictatorial power. The Nationalists, who are unrecognized, have gained the promise of Menocal to join them in their fight against the government.

Machado's main support comes from the army, which has been regularly paid and feted whenever possible. The army continues with a budget of $16,000,000 annually, leaving the Department of Agriculture with a scant $700,000, and the Department of Public Education with a budget reduced more than $2,000,000. The salaries of all public servants, with the exception of the army, have been reduced 40 per cent.

To help the economic situation there has just been enacted a special economic emergency law increasing first-class postage from two to three cents, placing a 10 per cent tax on theater tickets, and imposing a tax on radios. Among the other items subject to a tax is Bacardi rum, on which the government is to collect eighty cents for every gallon exported. The Bacardi people have protested in vain that they will move their plant to Santo Domingo. One amusing schedule in the tax law may be mentioned. For some time it has been customary for Spaniards who have spent many years in the interior of Cuba as sugar planters to return to Spain for a short time, and with the aid of a small fee to receive a title of nobility at the court. Needless to say, their increased dignity is thoroughly despised by the Cubans. The new tax law reads that each time the word "count," "duke," or "marquis" is used before a man's name in a newspaper story, the man owes the government $10. This will probably reduce the number of bombastic interviews by Count this or Duke that, little sugar-plantation owners, rather than increase the nation's revenue.

Any day now, according to one of the Cuban newspapers which has resumed operations, the red-light district of Havana, known as the "zone of tolerance," will be reopened. This announcement is significant. At the time of the first inauguration of Machado the subject of "regeneration" was widely discussed, and in deference to it the new president ordered the zone of tolerance closed. The recent promise of the government to permit the reopening of the district is unquestionably a gesture to regain the favor of the lower classes, who have been antagonized by the newly imposed taxes.

As things now stand, whenever the government's foes find voice they are thrown into jail, censorship is clapped on the press, and martial law, under the provisions of an act dating back to 1871 and therefore completely unconstitutional, is established in the large cities. When the clamor dies down, a generous hand is outstretched. On Christmas Eve last the army was tendered a dinner by the President, each soldier receiving a dollar bill in

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a wallet on which was engraved a picture of Machado. A general amnesty of all political prisoners was promised for National Independence Day, February 24, but when that day came it was found unconstitutional to liberate prisoners charged with sedition. What all this will lead to is difficult to say. American intervention seems remote. As long as Machado manages to find money to pay soldiers and feed them, he will have them at his beck and call. The general economic situation gives the government a temporary respite. The student bodies and the Nationalists have exhausted every means of immediate protest at their disposal, and many active opponents have been forced to flee the country. For the time being the opposition elements are at the end of their resources.

Contributors to This Issue

MARY SUMNER BOYD, research expert and writer, was for several years editor of the *Birth Control Review*.

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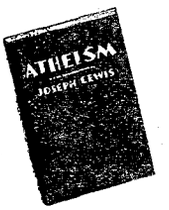

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